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Meeting the Needs of Polonia:  
A Comparison of the Polish-  
American Press Before  
And After 1980-1981

by

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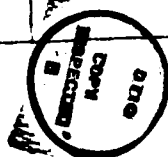
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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION AND PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The ethnic, foreign-language press, including the Polish-language press, has existed in this country to serve the needs of its immigrant readers for news of the "old country" and for news of their newly adopted country in the New World. The Polish-language press, since the middle of the last century, has helped new immigrants to assimilate into American life while also maintaining Polish ethnicity among the Polish immigrants and their descendants.

The 1930s were the heyday of the Polish press following the peak of Polish immigration to the United States in the second decade of this century. Numerous newspapers and periodicals arose to serve the varied interests and the political and religious factions of Polonia, as the community of Polish-Americans is referred to.

However, by 1930, predictions began to be made by students of the ethnic press about the eventual demise of the Polish press as the older, original immigrants began to die out and as the number of third generation Polish-Americans speaking Polish declined over the ensuing twenty years. In an attempt to adapt to the times, many Polish-American newspapers added English sections or

converted entirely to English in their desire to continue serving the assimilated descendants of the Polish immigrants. Yet, historians continued to predict the end of the Polish-American press because they could not foresee the one thing that could rejuvenate an ethnic press dying from its own success at fostering assimilation--a fresh influx of immigrants.

In the late 1970s and particularly in the first half of the 1980s, concurrent with the rise of the Solidarity trade union in Poland and its subsequent suppression under martial law in December, 1981, thousands of new Polish immigrants began to arrive in this country.

It is the response of the Polish-American press to this latest wave of Polish immigrants, the new Polonia, that this paper shall explore. The vitality of the Polish press, its success or failure in serving this new Polonia, along with continuing to serve the older Polonia, and change in tendency toward stressing assimilation or ethnicity will be examined.

However, before one can study recent developments in the Polish-American press, one must first understand, in an historical context, how the Polish press served the needs of immigrants in the past.

CHAPTER 2  
HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND  
REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Demography of Polonia & Distribution  
of the Polish Press

The Polish-American press exists to serve a potential readership of substantial size. In his book Guide to the American Ethnic Press: Slavic and East European Newspapers and Periodicals, Wynar mentions the population in the United States with Polish ancestry at 8,228,037, according to the 1980 census.<sup>1</sup> Magner, in his article "The Rise and Fall of the Ethnics," cites another study by the Bureau of the Census, carried out in March, 1972, on the ethnic origin or descent of Americans which indicated that the total 1972 population of 204.8 million was comprised of 5.1 million, or 2.5 percent, of people of Polish origin/descent.<sup>2</sup> According to Magner's study, of the eight ethnic groups which comprised half of the total population, Poles ranked seventh behind the English/Scott/Welsh, German, Irish, Spanish, Italian, and French ethnic groups.<sup>3</sup>

The majority of Polish immigrants, two million of them, settled permanently in the United States between 1850 and 1924.<sup>4</sup> The number of Polish and other central and southeastern European immigrants declined drastically

when the United States enacted the Immigration Act of 1924. In doing so, the United States officially abandoned the historic policy of open immigration by erecting a permanent percentage-based quota system aimed at curbing the admission of those from central and southeastern Europe.<sup>5</sup> The decline of Polish immigrants is reflected in figures from the Annual Report of the Commissioner of the Bureau of Immigration cited by Lopata in her article "Polish Immigration to the United States of America" published in The Polish Review. In 1924, 28,806 immigrants who were born in Poland arrived in the United States. By the following year, 1925, only 5,341 immigrants who claimed Poland as their country of birth were admitted to the United States.<sup>6</sup> The thirteen years between 1933 and 1946 continued to be a time of low numbers of both immigrant and non-immigrant entrants into the United States from Poland, according to Lopata, as a result of the quota system, the depression and World War II.<sup>7</sup>

After the Second World War, a total of 164,292 Poles, of the many more thousands who were displaced by the war, enduring mass deportation, concentration and labor camps at the hands of both the Nazis and the Soviets, were admitted to this country. Many of these Poles, who did not want to return to their Communist



controlled homeland during the Stalinist era, were allowed to enter the United States under the classification of refugee, displaced person, ex-combatant, or family member by using up and mortgaging future quotas and by special governmental and presidential acts, writes Lopata.<sup>8</sup>

This second wave of Polish immigrants (the first wave was considered by Polonia to be those Poles, primarily of peasant background, who arrived before World War II, particularly between 1850 and 1924) were inspired by political rather than economic motives in immigrating into the United States. Because of this, and because they were generally better educated, having lived under an independent rather than partitioned Poland from 1918 to 1939, this second wave of immigrants had different needs and expectations of the Polish press when they arrived in America. Consequently, these second wave immigrants experienced tensions with the older immigrants of the first wave, a situation which would repeat itself again as will be seen later.

Over fifteen years after the war's end, Polish immigrants continued to flock to this country, although not in the large number seen immediately after the war or before 1924. According to the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service Statistical Yearbook, the

decade from 1961 to 1970 saw the arrival of another 73,300 Polish immigrants into the United States, or about 7,330 Polish immigrants per year. The following decade, 1971 to 1980, saw 43,600 Polish immigrants admitted, or about 4,360 admitted per year on average.<sup>9</sup>

However, with the rise in influence of the Solidarity trade union in Poland in 1980 and its subsequent suppression when martial law was declared there in December, 1981, a third wave of Polish refugees and immigrants began to arrive in the United States, an arrival that would again change the character of Polonia and the Polish-American press. The four years from 1981 to 1984 saw the arrival of 26,800, or about 6,700 per year, in the latest or third wave of Polish immigrants.<sup>10</sup> The number increased again when in 1985, alone, there were 9,500 Polish immigrants admitted.<sup>11</sup> Lopata mentions the problem for American officials of an increasing number of Poles using the "temporary" classification who came to the United States "ostensibly for visits or limited residence, under the conditions that they not work for pay, and that they return to Poland when their visa expires, [and who] have been working and have attempted to change their status to that of immigrant once they are here."<sup>12</sup> This situation continues in the present time, much as it did when Lopata cited John

Dingell's January, 1974 article "Blast State Department on Polish Visa Policy" in Polish American Journal. These "temporary" polish immigrants of sorts have also added to the readership of and the needs to be met by the evolving Polish-American press.

It should be mentioned, however, that over the course of the years some 295,590 immigrants later emigrated out of the United States, many of them to fight for Poland's independence during and after World War I and to subsequently live in the newly independent Republic of Poland.<sup>13</sup> There were also an estimated 669,392 non-immigrants and temporary residents, as of Lopata's 1976 article, who had come here during this country's history and later returned home.<sup>14</sup> Together, says Lopata, these non-immigrant Polish residents in America had "an important influence upon Polonia [and presumably also upon the Polish-American press] as they were apt to be highly patriotic toward Poland and anxious to increase the Polish-American identification with that national culture society."<sup>15</sup>

The evolving Polish press survived where most Polish-Americans lived. Olszyk, in his 1940 study "The Polish Press in America," noted that most of the Polish-Americans live in the region of the Great Lakes, lower New England, New York, and Pennsylvania with large

concentrations in the cities of Chicago (the second largest Polish city in the world after Warsaw), Milwaukee, Detroit, Cleveland, Buffalo, and greater New York.<sup>16</sup> In the last half century since Olszyk's study, large concentrations of Polish-Americans still remain in these cities and in these areas, in general, even while more second and third generation Polish-Americans have moved away from these traditional ethnic concentrations as a result of greater mobility inherent in our modern society or have moved out of the old ethnic enclaves to suburbia in a quest for upward mobility.

The newest Polonia, the more recent immigrants of the third wave, have proven to be more highly educated and may have fluency or familiarity with the English language allowing them to be more socially mobile in finding employment across the United States and to, therefore, not settle in as great of numbers in the traditional areas of Polish concentration. However, as we shall see, most if not all of the surviving Polish newspapers and other periodicals, those serving the older (pre-1980) Polonia and the newer (post 1980-1981) Polonia continue to be published in these traditional Polish areas of concentration.

During the peak of its territorial expansion in the first two decades of the twentieth century, publications

of the Polish-American press appeared in 27 states, according to Kowalik's 1978 article "The Polish Press in America." According to Kowalik, the Polish press, when it began its decline, first receded in the scarcely populated rural communities of Washington State, Texas, and Rhode Island, followed by the disappearance of Polish papers in Indiana, Nebraska, and Oregon in the 1940s, and by their discontinuance in Montana and Iowa in the 1950s and in Delaware and Maryland just prior to 1978.<sup>17</sup>

Kowalik's study notes the coverage of the Polish-American press in only 15 states: the East, Northeast, and Midwest, with a vacuum in most of the Midwest, the South and the Northwest, and reappearing marginally in the frontier states of California, Texas and Florida.<sup>18</sup>

Kowalik also points out that 43 percent of the Polish-American press is clustered in the three metropolises of New York, Detroit, and Chicago with the latter being "the capital of Polish-American journalism in the United States . . . with 20 publications."<sup>19</sup>

#### Philosophical Theory of the Polish Press

Theodore Peterson mentions six functions of the press that are basically the same under social responsibility theory as those under libertarian theory: "(1) servicing the political system by providing

information, discussion, and debate on public affairs; (2) enlightening the public so as to make it capable of self-government; (3) safeguarding the rights of the individual by serving as a watchdog against government; (4) servicing the economic system, primarily by bringing together the buyers and sellers of goods and services through the medium of advertising; (5) providing entertainment; [and] (6) maintaining its own financial self-sufficiency so as to be free from the pressures of special interests."<sup>20</sup> As will be seen, the Polish-American press has striven to meet Polonia's needs by performing most, if not all, of these functions.

Under the "self-righting" process of the libertarian theory of the press the public was subjected to a barrage of information and opinion and was trusted to sort out that which was not in the public interest from that which served individual and societal needs, according to Siebert.<sup>21</sup> The Polish-American public was not only subjected to the competing opinions of numerous newspapers representing the various political and religious factions within Polonia, it was also exposed to yellow journalism. The liberal and anti-clerical Ameryka-Echo, started in 1889 by Antoni Paryski (nicknamed "the Polish Hearst") in Toledo, Ohio, has been described by Kowalik as "the first sample of Yellow-Press

journalism successfully grafted into an ethnic press enterprise."<sup>22</sup>

Olszyk also relates the era of personal journalism within the Polish-American press during which time this country "saw a revival of the time in which bitter invective, mud-slinging, court-battling, and street-fighting prevailed."<sup>23</sup> This era of personal journalism, bitter factional style, and personality battles in Polish-American newspapers was considered to be a direct outgrowth of the American era characterized by the same tactics, according to Olszyk's 1938 interview of Thomas Jasiorkowski, editor-in-chief of Milwaukee's Nowiny Polskie.<sup>24</sup>

However, much of the Polish-American press strived to go beyond the aforementioned basic six tasks of the press in their attempt to be socially responsible to the needs of Polonia. Pacyniak, in "An Historical Outline of the Polish Press in America," notes that "editors of Polish-language newspapers considered it their responsibility to educate and not merely inform their readers."<sup>25</sup>

Both of these theories of the press, libertarian and social responsibility, can be seen in the Polish-American press of the past as well as in the contemporary Polish-American press. Aspects of both these theories,

perhaps with an inclination toward social responsibility, can be seen in the purposes for the establishment of and the functions performed by the Polish-American press both in the past and in the present.

#### Purposes and Functions of the Polish-American Press

Kowalik mentions two main reasons for the establishment of the Polish language press in the United States: (1) to serve the needs of unity and understanding among immigrants who do not have the command of the English language, and (2) to maintain a foreign press in this country because Poland had been under political dominance of neighboring super-powers and could not function as an independent nation.<sup>26</sup> This latter situation applied until an independent Polish state was called for in the 1919 Treaty of Versailles and whose borders were finalized in the 1920 Treaty of Riga which ended the Polish-Soviet war. Robert E. Park, in his survey and study of the foreign-language press in this country, also concludes that its popularity is based, for one, on the need of immigrants eager to read their own language in this country after having not been allowed to do so in their own.<sup>27</sup> Many would say that the need again came into existence to express ideas in the Polish press in the United States and in other countries,



ideas which were inexpressible when Poland again came under political domination, this time from the Soviet Union with the Soviet imposed Lublin Constitution of July, 1944.

Olszyk cited three general purposes for the establishment of the Polish language press in America: (1) to answer the desire and need of unity and understanding among the immigrants cast on a new land; (2) to inform them of the duties and advantages of citizenship; and (3) to inform them of the activities of their fellow Poles in Europe and around the world.<sup>28</sup> In addition to these purposes, Kowalik has added that the press has been an unequalled educational agency in helping the immigrant to make adjustments to a new environment, change old habits and form new opinions.<sup>29</sup> In fact, many of the first wave Polish immigrants, who had been denied the privileges of learning to read and write in their native land under partition before 1918, actually learned to read on Polish-language publications available to them in this, their adopted country, writes Olszyk.<sup>30</sup>

Lopata expanded upon what she saw as the functions performed by the Polish-language press in serving Polonia. The Polish press, according to Lopata:

- Originally helped nationalistic leaders to develop patriotism among former peasants;
- Helped to develop broader religious identification by converting village parishioners into what Herbert Gans called "urban villagers";
- Assisted in the development of the ideology explaining Polonia and its relations to Poland and to American society;
- Helped parents socialize their children through the introduction of the Polish language and its folk subcultures;
- Helped to develop and record the new Polish-American marginal culture and the changes it went through;
- Recorded life of the Polish community, accentuated trends and built role models;
- Fostered an interest in status competition among community leaders and organizations within Polonia;
- The Polish press used politics in encouraging community members to support or not to support various candidates and their positions.<sup>31</sup>

On this latter point, the Polish press was assisted in its establishment and functioned as a medium of agitation by American politicians who were shrewd to realize they could influence American politics through the publishing

of circulars in the native tongue of Poles and other ethnic groups.<sup>32</sup>

The Polish-language newspaper served as the link between the societies, churches and committees, Olszyk says.<sup>33</sup> Some of these Polish newspapers serve as an organ for spreading information for certain national and local organizations such as the Polish Roman Catholic Union and the Polish National Alliance, according to Olszyk.<sup>34</sup> In a similar study on the early Jewish press in the United States, Theus similarly concluded that newspapers were "important among institutions which promote religion, education, voluntary organizations and communication" as well as being "among the influences which will continue to support . . . ethnicity."<sup>35</sup>

The ethnic press, in general, also functions to serve and to meet the needs not fulfilled by the metropolitan media according to a study on "The Forgotten Media Consumer - The American Ethnic" by Jeffres and Hur.<sup>36</sup> Kowalik views the role of Polish papers in America as supplementing rather than duplicating the regular American press. Polish papers have to provide information not easily found in the American press, with an objective evaluation of events, or they have to comment on new developments from the Polish angle, Kowalik says.<sup>37</sup>

With these purposes and functions in mind, let us next examine how the Polish-American press prior to 1980 evolved and how it served the needs of the first and second waves of immigrants that comprise the older Polonia.

#### Evolution of the Pre-1980 Polish-American Press Through World War I

The first Polish-language publication in the United States was the Echo z Polski (Echo from Poland), first published on June 1, 1863 in New York City, which carried political news of the 1863 uprising against the Russians in partitioned Poland and rallied support among native Americans. Since there were not yet any Polish settlements of considerable size, no other economic, political or social news that might have been of interest to those few Polish colonies in faraway Texas was carried and the paper closed in April, 1865 when the insurrection failed.<sup>38</sup>

Renkiewicz lists Orzel Polski (The Polish Eagle), which began publication in 1870 in Washington, Missouri, as the second Polish-language newspaper in the United States and as being the prototype of future Polish-American newspapers that would serve the masses of Polish people and their needs in America.<sup>39</sup>

Subsequently, the immigrant press began to deal with adaptation problems, to serve the interests of their community, and to be determined to operate on a sound financial basis, unlike the first publications of political refugees who concentrated on Poland's survival and European politics. To do so, the fledgling Polish press found that it had to lower its literacy style and tailor its content to its readers' needs and likings in order to reach the farmer and the factory worker.<sup>40</sup>

In the 1880s and 1890s, over 110 newspapers were initiated in Polish-American communities.<sup>41</sup> Among these was the influential Kurier Polski (The Polish Courier), the first successful Polish-language daily newspaper in the United States, founded in Milwaukee in 1888 by Michael Kruszkas, which adopted a progressive Republican orientation in 1900 and which became known for Kruszkas's lengthy series of harsh attacks on church policies that led to the Archbishop of Milwaukee forbidding Catholics to read Kruszkas's paper.<sup>42</sup> Pielgrzym (The Pilgrim), which began publishing in 1872 was, at the time of its transfer to Detroit in 1874 and change in name to Gazeta Polska Katolicka (The Polish Catholic Gazette), the first attempt to provide a periodical for the Polish Catholics of Detroit.<sup>43</sup> By April, 1875, the paper was again transferred, this time to Chicago. Undergoing another

name change to Gazeta Katolicka (The Catholic Gazette) in May, 1880, the newspaper became a staunch fighter and defender of conservative and Catholic opinion in America.<sup>44</sup>

It was during the 1880s and 1890s that a rift occurred in the Polish press representing religious and nationalistic factions within Polonia, as can be seen in the two aforementioned newspapers. On one side of the struggle was the Polish clergy and the Polish Roman Catholic Union (P.R.C.U.), an organization formed in 1873 by the clergy as an effort to keep the people close to the church and the clergy. In opposition to this religious faction of Polonia were the middle-class secular nationalists of the Polish National Alliance (P.N.A.), organized in 1880 by exiles of the unsuccessful 1863 insurrection in an effort to rally the immigrant Poles to work for the eventual liberation of Poland. The P.N.A. was a lay organization, organized by and controlled by people of all creeds and faiths of Polish ancestry, and it was this factor that caused the clerical sponsors of the P.R.C.U. to oppose the P.N.A.<sup>45</sup>

Pacyniak noticed three sharply defined lines of orientation, by 1884, in the development of the Polish press: two of those orientations being the religious/clerical and the nationalist/anti-clerical

orientations. The religious/clerical orientation, according to Pacyniak, was controlled by the Polish Roman Catholic leadership, followed a conservative orientation, and was in favor of supporting and retaining the existing state of religious dominance in community life. The nationalist or anti-clerical orientation, states Pacyniak, supported national independence in the United States, espoused liberal views and prided itself on its tolerance.<sup>46</sup>

Newspapers in the Polish press represented the viewpoints of both orientations and served the need for information by members of both factions. According to Bukowczyk, proclerical organs included such papers as Buffalo's Polak w Ameryce (The Pole in America), Milwaukee's Nowiny Polskie (The Polish News), Dziennik Chicagoski (The Polish Daily News), and Narod Polski of the P.R.C.U. Bukowczyk lists such secular nationalist journals as Zgoda (Harmony) of the P.N.A., Milwaukee's Kurier Polski (The Polish Courier), the socialist Dziennik Ludowy (People's Daily), and Detroit's Dziennik Polski (Polish Daily). "On their pages," writes Bukowczyk, "Poles argued over who should lead Polonia and what Polonia's destiny should be."<sup>47</sup> Pacyniak notes that the religious/clerical newspapers were subsidized or at least partially supported while the nationalist/anti-

clerical papers had to appeal to the common man without whose support they could not exist.<sup>48</sup>

The third orientation in the development of the Polish press which expressed the viewpoints of another, smaller faction of Polonia was that of the radicals, under which Pacyniak includes the socialists and anarchists. The press of this group was almost always anti-religious and opposed the Catholic Church as the existing power structure in the Polish community. According to Pacyniak, it also operated on subsidies gathered from membership dues and contributions.<sup>49</sup>

Dziennik Ludowy (The People's Daily), mentioned earlier as an anti-clerical or secular, nationalist publication, was one of the better known papers of the radical Polish press published by Polish socialists in Chicago beginning in 1907. The American Socialist Party originally had organized only a Polish-language section in its own party organ and did not begin to issue the aforementioned daily newspaper until it had been determined that enough interest in practical socialism had developed in the Polish community. At its peak, Dziennik Ludowy reached a circulation of 20,000, nationally, in 1920 but stopped publishing only two years later, in 1922.<sup>50</sup> Slightly earlier, Polish radicals in Chicago founded the newspaper Robotnik Polski (Polish



Worker) in 1896 to push forward their own vision of social justice and economic equality.<sup>51</sup> Another radical Polish paper, Glos Robotniczy (Workers' Voice) originated in Detroit in 1917.

However, the life of a radical paper, according to Park's study "The Immigrant Press and its Control," is apt to be brief. Of the Polish socialist papers which have gone out of existence, mentions Park, Lila lasted two years, Postem Lila lasted three years, and Naprzod (Forward) lasted five years.<sup>52</sup> The reason for this, according to Kantowicz, was that in the long run the Socialist Party failed to build a mass base in Polonia and, in addition, Dziennik Ludowy's extremely anti-clerical tone hindered the party's chances among the Catholic Poles.<sup>53</sup>

By the early 1900s, as the friction between the clerical and the anti-clerical factions in Polonia began to subside, other news and the expression of other viewpoints could be found more frequently in the Polish press. Instead of the internecine politics of Polonia, more of American politics made its way into the Polish press along with editorial positions on issues in American politics. Zgoda (Harmony), a weekly originally launched in November 1881, was the house organ of the Polish National Alliance in Chicago. The daily newspaper

Dziennik Zwiaskowy was established by the P.N.A. in 1908 as another house organ and to supplement Zgoda, its weekly. Both of these P.N.A. publications, in editorializing on American politics, professed a "high-minded, nonpartisan line but beneath the nonpartisan rhetoric," according to Kantowicz, "they always supported the Republican ticket."<sup>54</sup> Dziennik Zwiaskowy was said to have also favored progressive movements in the city of Chicago and it advised its readers on how to vote in the numerous referenda that appeared on the city's ballots during the period, writes Kantowicz.<sup>55</sup>

Another paper established in Detroit in 1903, Dziennik Polski (The Polish Daily News), also involved its readers with the American political system. In their article "Polish Americans in Detroit Politics," Radzialowski and Binkowski mention that Dziennik Polski, for example, expanded its criteria for endorsement in the 1910 election campaign to include the willingness of an incumbent to hire Poles in any of the patronage positions available to him.<sup>56</sup> However, by 1910, Dziennik Polski and other organizational newspapers read by Detroit Poles significantly increased the amount of space they devoted to news and commentary on Polish matters due to rallies and celebrations held that year in commemoration of the

500th anniversary of the Polish-Lithuanian victory over the Teutonic Knights at Grunwald.<sup>57</sup>

Shortly thereafter, World War I and the reappearance of a Polish state in 1918 seized the attention of Polonia and its press to the virtual exclusion of all other interests and, as a result, national and local politics received only passing notice by the Polish press into the 1920s, according to Radzialowski and Binkowski.<sup>58</sup> The genuine interest of Polish-Americans in the outcome of the war provided a vital stimulus to the Polish press, demonstrating itself in the number of publications as well as in the higher journalistic level of the papers, according to Kowalik.<sup>59</sup> The Polish-American press now strove to fulfill the nationalistic needs and aspirations of its Polish immigrant readers who longed for a homeland. "Polish language newspapers," Urbanski states, "mobilized their readers and waged a campaign in support of the rebirth of Poland. Their pages were filled with emotional appeals for assistance to the 'Fatherland' and interest in Poland's fate became the single most important issue drawing the readers to the Polish-language newspaper."<sup>60</sup>

Aside from the Polish nationalism that all of Polonia's papers espoused during the First World War, the Polish press again split into factions advocating, in

their editorial policy, different means of struggling for an independent Poland. As there had earlier been a three-way split in the Polish press between the religious/clerical, the nationalists/anti-clerical, and the radicals, there now were two camps, split in strictly political terms.

On one side of the ideological split in Polonia which was carried over into the Polish press, was the Komitet Obrony Narodowy (Committee for National Defense, also known as K.O.N.) which supported Jozef Pilsudski and the Polish Socialist Party. Pilsudski, whose Polish Legion fought alongside the Central Powers, saw Russia as the real enemy for having been Poland's cruelest partitioner and he advocated using Austria as a tool to gain independence for Poland.<sup>61</sup>

The other ideological side represented in the Polish-American press was that of Stronnictwo Narodowo-Demokratyczne (The National Democratic Party) which had been organized under Roman Dmowski in Russian-occupied Poland and which backed the Russians, making it pro-Allied Powers. Dmowski and the National Democrats felt that independence would not be realistic until national unity was achieved by defeating Germany and Austria and recovering their partitions of Poland to combine them with the Polish territory occupied by the Russians.<sup>62</sup>

Whatever side of the ideological division Polish-American newspapers sided with through their editorials, practically all Polish-American periodicals supported the move to enter the war and they stirred the patriotic furor in favor of the war, adds Pacyniak.<sup>63</sup> However, it cannot necessarily be said that the Polish press set the agenda or led the public opinion of Polonia on the war because, as Pacyniak writes, "Poles were very pro-war . . . they sensed a free Poland out of the war's finale."<sup>64</sup>

In addition to the ideological division during World War I, the Polish press also responded to the needs and interests of its readers through the introduction of specialized types of periodicals which dealt solely with the events and emotions of the Great War. Such periodicals as Przyjaciel Zolnierza (Soldier's Friend, in 1913), Wyzwolenie (Liberation, in 1914) and Polish Cause (published in 1915 by K.O.N.) appeared during this time.<sup>65</sup>

The end of the First World War and the rebirth of Poland in 1918 found the Polish-American press returning to news of domestic affairs in the adopted homeland, the United States, on the front pages of Polonia's newspapers.<sup>66</sup> Not all news in the Polish press was on Polonia in America, however, as the end of the war had also led to new discussions and analysis of the

consequences of Poland's rebirth, of who should now rule in Poland, and of what Polonia should do to help Poland.<sup>67</sup> These discussions also led to a resurfacing of pre-war orientations which were now classified as: liberal, anti-clerical nationalists; conservative or clerical nationalists; and radical/socialists. According to Osada's 1930 study, the liberal nationalists could boast of having 14 daily newspapers, 40 weeklies, and a total of some 1,329,000 readers in 1921. The conservative/clerical nationalists claimed to have had two dailies, 10 weeklies, and 222,700 readers. the radicals and socialists had only three dailies, two weeklies and only 63,000 readers.<sup>68</sup>

With the regaining of Poland's independence the issue of re-emigration emerged in the Polish-American press. Only the socialist/radical press actually advocated re-emigration, notes Pacyniak. The majority of Polish-language papers attempted to influence their readers to stay in America and to assist Poland through financial support rather than by re-emigrating. The reason for this was partly self-interest; editors realized that a fatal blow would be dealt to the Polish-language press in the country if a mass emigration occurred.<sup>69</sup> There was, however, a large percentage of Polonia's publishers, writers and editors who returned to

Poland, hitting the Polish-American press quite hard and, according to some historians, setting Polonia back 20 to 30 years.<sup>70</sup>

Pacyniak points out other problems that concurrently faced the Polish press along with re-emigration in the 1920s. The restrictive quotas of the Immigration Act of 1924 dramatically cut the number of immigrants allowed into the United States from Poland and from other countries in Eastern and Southeastern Europe. Worsening economic conditions in this country following the war and immigrants being regarded as inferior unless they were fully Americanized caused the Polish-American press to face another crisis--the Americanization, or assimilation, of the Polish immigrants and their descendants.<sup>71</sup>

#### Americanization Versus Ethnicity

The Polish press, and other ethnic presses, work on two contradictory tasks: to promote the Americanization, or assimilation, of its readers and to preserve their feelings of being different from other Americans by promoting ethnicity and nationalism.<sup>72</sup>

Nationalist motives frequently inspire foreign-language newspapers, says Park, and it is understandable that their editors therefore seek to use the press as a means of preventing assimilation.<sup>73</sup> Particularly in the

case of the Polish immigrants, who had been without an independent state since the partition of Poland in the late 1700s, the desire for an independent homeland dominates the thoughts of Polonia and its press to the detriment of a quicker assimilation of Polish-Americans and their press into mainstream American society. On this matter, Obidinski and Zand state:

It has been said of the Poles, sometimes in praise and sometimes in derogation, that they are extremely tenacious of their national culture, that they resist assimilation . . . But it must be remembered that Poland was in chains during the years when the large immigrations took place. Poles abroad, no less--perhaps even more--than Poles at home, felt called upon to maintain their Polishness against all influences, feeling that they were bearers of a culture and tradition that were threatened with extinction. This is a loyalty which all high-minded men understand; one does not give up a beloved cause when it is in danger. Had Poland been an independent country, the emigrating Poles would not have felt their mission so strongly and would have entered the mainstream of American life a generation earlier.<sup>74</sup>

But was the Polish press stressing nationalism and ethnicity, exclusively, at the expense of its role as a tool of assimilation? Beyond the delay in assimilating, caused by Polonia's desire to see an independent Poland as mentioned earlier, the answer appears to be no. The Polish press, as did other ethnic presses, did much to promote assimilation.

During the 1920s, many Americans held the notion that the foreign-born were not assimilating into national life. "Most Americans," Wang writes, "shared the



sentiments of a University of Chicago professor who argued that 'foreign language papers . . . retard Americanization and promote clannishness.' Although editors of the foreign language press professed to be instructing immigrants in principles of American citizenship, restrictionists attacked the editors for shielding the aliens from the process of assimilation by reinforcing their native language and culture."<sup>75</sup>

Kessler also addresses the concerns of Americans who, at the time, strongly identified with the idea of America as a melting pot and who were concerned about the effects of the foreign-language press as either aiding Americanization (as assimilation was referred to as in the 1920s) or retarding it by preserving ethnicity. On one hand, Kessler says, the foreign language press did preserve feelings of separateness by perpetuating use of their native language, expressing nationalistic feelings through insulating immigrants from the wider society, and by promoting identification with the Old World by offering news of their native countries. On the other hand, Kessler continues, by publishing American news the foreign press acquainted immigrants with events, ideas and customs in the United States, educated them on the American point of view and respect for American institutions, and stimulated interest in their adopted

homeland. As an educational agency without equal, Kessler notes, the foreign-language press provided immigrants with a political education, encouraged literacy, publicized night school, citizenship, and English classes, and published English lessons and articles on American history. Commenting on the value of the ethnic press in assimilation, Kessler says that, "By speaking to them in their own language and sustaining a sense of group identity, the foreign-language press may have helped immigrants overcome severe culture shock. By lessening their feeling of dislocation the press may have helped accelerate the adjustment process."<sup>76</sup>

In a similar vein, in his book The Immigrant Press and its Control Park says the foreign-language press must print American news to fill the need of its readers for a familiarity to enable them to get along where they live and work and, eventually, this personal necessity turns into a general interest in America. The foreign-language press, Park mentions, is also a means of translating and transmitting American ways and American ideals to the immigrant, thereby initiating him into the American environment.<sup>77</sup>

Undoubtedly, there was some resistance to Americanization as there had been to re-emigration, by such newspapers in the Polish press as Wiadomosci

Codzienne (Everyday News) of Cleveland, which realized the implications of such policies on their survival. However, some papers supported Americanization, believing that the need for jobs for Americans and for Poles already in America was paramount and that immigration should be limited, according to Pacyniak.<sup>78</sup> Many in Polonia and in its press realized that, ultimately, it was necessary for Poles to either assimilate to the "American" norm, or to reconcile themselves to a kind of second-class citizenship as "hyphenated Americans," as Donald E. Pienkos puts it in his mention of Israel Zangwill's 1909 book The Melting Pot.<sup>79</sup>

This assimilationist, or Americanization, side of the Polish press was seen as early as 1890 when, in its first issue on December 15, Dziennik Chicagoski (Polish Daily News) stated that "among the principles guiding us shall be . . . to regard highly the Constitution of the United States, as citizens of our country . . . Specifically, we Poles must not consider ourselves as visitors but as an integral part of this country."<sup>80</sup> This same daily newspaper was said to have faithfully followed the credo of Father Barzynski and other (Polish) Resurrectionist priests working in America which was "That each Pole should retain his Catholic faith, learn the language and history of Poland, but be given the

chance to become a good Yankee."<sup>81</sup> In 1918, Dziennik Chicagoski also began publishing a monthly serial feature entitled "The History of the United States" which was designed to win the attention of second generation Polish-Americans.<sup>82</sup> The newly founded P.N.A. weekly, Zgoda (Harmony), also had encouraged Poles to become active in American politics, according to Parot, albeit for purely nationalistic reasons of attempting to change America's foreign policy toward the still partitioned Poland.<sup>83</sup>

Kuzniewski states that the stages by which newcomers assimilated to life in the United States are directly related to the role of the ethnic press. The first stage, according to Kuzniewski, was that of the pioneering generation of Polish-Americans who arrived up till 1900 and which was a time where life was organized around the Catholic parishes and organizations such as the P.N.A. and the P.R.C.U. and where rising ethnic consciousness spurred Polish-American leaders to educate immigrants about both their Polish and American identities. The second generation, which peaked about the time of World War I, was characterized by strident nationalism, the preoccupation of Polonia with the reestablishment of Poland, and an emphasis on Polish culture as worthy of assimilation in a pluralistic

society. The third stage, Kuzniewski says, occurred after the reestablishment of Poland when immigrants committed themselves to the United States and to absorption by declining to re-emigrate. This third stage of assimilation, says Kuzniewski, gradually yielded to "a period in which the descendants of Polish immigrants continue to claim their ethnic heritage in a variety of ways, but always of Americans of Polish descent." The fundamental purpose of the Polish-American press, throughout these stages, was to carry news of both the old and the new countries, to educate readers about Polonia and life in America, and to serve the needs of the newspapers' sponsors, adds Kuzniewski.<sup>84</sup>

#### From Polish to English

For most immigrants, Americanization or assimilation has meant the gradual loss of their native language to the use of English. Efforts to maintain the native language through church schools, for example, have met with limited success, according to Magner, who added "The days of Buffalo Polish . . . and other urban language enclaves are numbered."<sup>85</sup> Even the use of the Polish language, itself, had become somewhat Americanized in the Polish-American press. Although many strongly nationalistic Polish editors tried to keep the language as pure as that spoken in Poland, nevertheless, many

American slang words have been treated as roots and used with Polish inflections and prefixes, but their syntax and literary application have become more localized, being neither Polish nor English.<sup>86</sup>

The use of English slowly came to the Polish-American press as both an encouragement to further assimilation as well as a reaction to assimilation that had already begun to occur, particularly amongst younger readers--the descendants of the immigrants. Immigrants were pressured by the large American society to assimilate lest they face discrimination in the job place and elsewhere, particularly by the 1920s when public concern about the numerous immigrants was at its height. "It's pretty hard to make an American out of a man, or woman, who can neither read nor speak, let along think, American," one writer proclaimed.<sup>87</sup> It was felt that "if central . . . Europeans could not converse with native Americans, they could never comprehend the tenets of constitutional government and responsible citizenship," writes Wang.<sup>88</sup>

In reaction to the assimilating youth of Polonia, the Polish-American press began printing the sports page and articles of special interest to the new generation in English in several Polish-language dailies to attract the younger generation. One such paper to do so in more

recent times was the Dziennik Polski (Polish Daily News) of Detroit in 1960.<sup>89</sup>

Although some Polish papers began to experiment with English language supplements as early as 1910, many more papers began to use English in earnest around 1930, as the number of European-born Poles declined rapidly in the United States, according to Kuzniewski. Such papers as Milwaukee's Nowiny Polskie, Chicago's Dziennik Zjednoczenia and Dziennik Zwiazkowy, and Detroit's Rekord Codzienny introduced English sections into their papers. Others, such as Milwaukee's Kuryer Polski, experimented with a weekly English edition.<sup>90</sup> The purpose of the Kuryer's English supplement, The American Courier, which was published every Thursday since January 26, 1939, was defined as follows:

For more than fifty years the Kuryer Polski journalistically ministered to the needs of the older generation of Polish-Americans . . . the new generation of Americans still seeks its place and is still carving out its niche in the structure which is America. As an answer to these needs of the younger generation the Kuryer Polski has decided to publish an English edition as The American Courier.<sup>91</sup>

The Polish press began printing in English not only to retain Polonia's assimilating youth, but also to reach out to the rest of America which did not understand Polish. Nineteen years before The American Courier came out, on February 21, 1920 The Polish Daily Zgoda of Chicago (Polonia's largest circulation newspaper)

announced its new editorial policy of devoting some of its columns to news items and editorials in English as well as in Polish. Its reasons were as follows:

It is not sufficient to make America, and all that concerns America, understood to the people whom we lead. We must also make these people, their traditions, their past, and their present, understood by America. Nothing short of mutual understanding can bring about the results hoped for by all lovers of America and Americanism . . . . We will try to get all of the people a little closer together.<sup>92</sup>

The first English-language Polish-American newspaper of country-wide popularity and significance was the Polish American Journal, published and edited originally in Scranton, Pennsylvania by the Dende Family. Established in 1911, after 37 years as a Polish-language paper, it converted exclusively to an English-language Polish-American newspaper to address those English-speaking readers who, according to Kuzniewski, "were somewhat assimilated but still drew an important part of their self-understanding from a Polish-American (as opposed to a purely Polish) heritage."<sup>93</sup> Another all-English Polish-American newspaper is the Am-Pol Eagle published in Buffalo, New York where, incidentally, the Polish-American Journal is also now published. The Polish-American Voice also published in Buffalo for a few years beginning in 1983, stressed ethnic politics by organizing a grass roots neighborhood political movement.<sup>94</sup> Newspapers, such as these three, ran stories



of successful Polish-Americans to help young Polish-Americans improve their image and their image of their ethnic background.<sup>95</sup>

According to Kowalik's 1978 study, of 107 periodicals published for an estimated six million Polish-Americans, 48 are published entirely in Polish, 27 in English and 32 are bilingual, with the newspapers, dailies in particular, preferring separate English editions or supplements rather than switching to bilingual texts in the main editions. In contrast, fraternal publications use a bilingual format because of the involvement of younger generations, which prefer English, and who participate in the insurance benefits created by their forbearers, Kowalik notes.<sup>96</sup>

While most papers have added a section printed in English which may serve to prolong the life of the Polish-American press for a while longer, write Obidinski and Zand, its eventual extinction seems inevitable, they predict.<sup>97</sup> The issue of publishing in English or Polish boils down to the dilemma for the Polish-American press, as Kowalik sees it, of publishing in English, thereby eventually gaining nationwide recognition for Polish ethnic values and ideals, or continuing to publish in Polish to a decreasing audience.<sup>98</sup>

### Americanized Style

Just as Polish-Americans became Americanized, so too over time did the Polish-American press that served them. We have already seen how more and more publications of the Polish-language press began to include news, sports, and other articles in English, or began publishing a separate English-language edition, or began converting their periodical entirely to English. This they did to enable them to continue serving the needs of their readers who, themselves, were becoming Americanized and learning English, particularly those readers who were the descendants of the original Polish immigrants. In a word, Polish newspapers adapted to survive economically. But not only did some Polish-American newspapers begin to change their language of use, all of those which were to survive also changed their style, their makeup and organization in order to compete with mainstream American newspapers which more and more second and third generation Polish-Americans were beginning to read. In order to meet the needs, as well as the likes and desires, of an evolving Polonia, the Polish-American press, itself, became Americanized in style.

From the beginning, immigrant editors found that they had to adopt a popular literary style and to

substitute vernacular for the more formal language initially used, if they were to make themselves understood by the mass of their readers who were simple and uneducated, notes Wytrwal.<sup>99</sup> He adds that the immigrants' journals became less doctrinaire and propagandistic in tone, tending instead to conform to the prevailing type of American newspaper; that is, a commercial paper published entirely for profit and concerned more with circulation than with opinion. As a result, Wytrwal says, Polish-American newspapers began to display all those features which typified the American press, in general: more sensational news stories in place of lengthy editorial columns; advertisements of all kinds; classified ads; as well as sports, market reports, obituaries, and society and women's pages. According to Wytrwal, the exotic titles of dailies such as Ojczyzna (The Fatherland) or Patryota (The Patriot) "concealed the fact that they were essentially American newspapers though published in Polish."<sup>100</sup> More of these modifications crept into the early Polish-American press as more of the Polish-language publications moved away from being organs of religious, fraternal and nationalist organizations into more general circulation publications, such as Chicago's Dziennik Zwiazkowy, a widely circulated

daily that is still affiliated with the Polish National Alliance.

Olszyk pointed out, in his 1940 study of the Polish press, just how the Polish-American newspapers had come to resemble the American newspaper in style, arrangement, type faces and departmental organization. By this time, some Polish-American dailies had copied the style of the Hearst papers on their front pages, using their writers' by-lines and jumping stories to the inside pages. Mast-head data was now placed on the editorial page instead of near the nameplate or on the last page, as was the custom in Europe. Olszyk mentions that cartoons on current topics began to be used by the wealthy dailies and weeklies. Polish-American papers became more departmentalized, like the streamlined American newspapers, devoting the front page to outstanding local, national, and international events of the day and the editorial page to cartoons and humorous columns, in addition to the editorial writers' lengthy articles of opinions.<sup>101</sup> The Polish-American press has also attempted to limit articles to objective reporting, in following the American precedent, and its news is generally gathered in the same manner as the American papers with reporters being sent out on special assignment and phoning in or mailing in the news, writes Olszyk.<sup>102</sup>

### Advertising in the Americanization Process

To stay alive and to compete in the urban market, many of the earlier Polish-American papers had to abandon the European tradition of the high-minded journalism of opinion, upon which many of them were founded, in order to appeal to a broad spectrum of readers and to increase their circulations. Successful competition and survival also meant increasing advertising which was the chief source of income for Polish-American dailies and weeklies since subscription prices rarely covered the cost of paper.<sup>103</sup> Consequently, more and more papers saw themselves as forums for advertising, Kessler notes.<sup>104</sup>

Advertising in the increasingly Americanized Polish-American press not only performed a service and met the needs of Polonia by matching up products with people, it also reflected Americanization, itself, and contributed to the assimilation of all immigrants. Park believes that foreign language papers are frequently agencies of Americanization which exert Americanizing influences when they advertise American goods.<sup>105</sup> Park writes that:

National advertising is the greatest Americanizer. It tells the story of American business, pluck, enterprise, and achievement in discovering and mining the treasures of the earth, in manufacturing, in trade, in literature, in science and invention, and in art . . . . If Americans want to combine business and patriotism they should advertise products,

industry, and American institutions in the American foreign-language press.<sup>106</sup>

Park quotes Dupont in saying that "Practical Americanization is the use of American things, and by using them getting our foreign people to like them and prefer them to other things."<sup>106</sup>

At first, the newspapers of new immigrant groups were filled with advertisements for businesses owned by immigrants and for products related to the culture of the immigrants' homeland. However, "as these immigrant groups became assimilated into American society," Kessler writes, "they began to patronize American merchants and buy American products."<sup>107</sup>

The Polish-American press not only advertises American products and business. It also advertises "American way of life, . . . organizations, political campaigns, entertainment, as well as legal matters, in short: the American civilization," writes Kowalik.<sup>108</sup>

### Special Interest Publications

Special interest publications began to arise whenever the "mainstream" Polish-American press could not or would not meet the needs of its readers in Polonia. However, such publications dedicated to special interests, such as literary, social, commercial, or

professional organs, were slow to develop among Polish-Americans, Olszyk reported.<sup>109</sup>

Various historians of the Polish-American press mention a variety of these publications.

One such publication was Glos Polek (Voice of Polish Women), a Chicago monthly started around 1924, which espoused Polish immigrant feminism and stood for temperance, progressive social causes, and women's political rights. The paper's editors also took on conservative Polish immigrant priests who might have wished to slow female progress, writes Bukowczyk.<sup>110</sup>

Another such special interest publication was Przewodnik Kupiecki (Merchants Guidebook), a monthly journal organized by the Federated Merchants Organization of America in 1936, according to Bukowczyk, to disseminate business advice by Polish-American business owners who joined forces against the economic adversity and brutal competition of the times.<sup>111</sup>

Other such publications serving the specialized interests and needs of Polonia which have survived into the present include: Polish American Studies of the Polish American Historical Association; The Polish Review, a scholarly journal devoted to the history and culture of Poland and America's Polonia sponsored by The Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences of America;

Conradia which encourages the study of the life and works of the Polish writer, Joseph Conrad; and The Polish Assistance Bulletin which raises funds to help the aged, the needy, and those in need of medical attention.<sup>112</sup>

#### Political News Coverage in the Polish Press

Olszyk denotes four kinds of news carried in the Polish-American press: (1) news from Poland, (2) American news, (3) news on Poles in America, and (4) news of local social and organizational activities.<sup>113</sup> Although not all, much of the news falling under the first two varieties is of political nature, for which the readers of Polonia have a need.

Coverage of American political news in the Polish-American Press has, no doubt, assisted in the Americanization process of Polish immigrants. But the amount of American news in the Polish-language press is not all that counts, writes Kowalik, adding that "the sometimes critical and non-apologetic evaluation of the American political scene is rather a healthy ripe citizen attitude, [rather] than a prospect of alienation towards American interests."<sup>114</sup>

Beyond mere coverage of and editorials on American politics, the early period of the Polish-American press also spawned political circulars agitating in the native



tongue of Polonia. Existing Polish publications found a source of income in the printing of these circulars or in establishing numerous new publications which usually lasted as long as the political campaign lasted.<sup>115</sup> In doing so, the Polish-American press made money--and Polish-Americans learned about and became involved in the American political system.

However, "in ethnic newspapers the most popular contents are news of the local ethnic community and news from the mother country," note Jeffres and Hur.<sup>116</sup> In the past, as we have seen, the Polish-American press carried a great deal of political news on the Polish homeland through World War I and, again, after Poland regained its independence.

Similarly, political events in Poland were heavily covered by the Polish-American press during the Second World War. The "native" Polish-American press of the immigrants and their descendants was also supplemented by a number of publications created or inspired by authorities of the Polish Government in Exile, who were working in this country through diplomatic offices and information agencies, notes Kowalik.<sup>117</sup> During the war, the Polish-American press was considered one of the best informed and effective mass media in the world, as far as the dissemination of news concerning Europe was involved,

because of contacts made possible between the immigrant and exile press with intelligence agents of the Polish Home Army and political emissaries of the Polish Underground Government in occupied Poland.<sup>118</sup>

Likewise, upon the conclusion of the war, the Polish-American press, in devoting space to charitable actions and to fund-raising campaigns for hospitals and schools in Poland, for reconstruction of war-destroyed historical objects, and for victims of natural catastrophes, was able to obtain valuable sources of information through special channels of contact. This advantage available to the Polish-American press prompted several officials to praise the foreign-language press for its record of accuracy on vital information on foreign affairs and its editors as being one of the best informed group on world affairs in this country.<sup>119</sup>

Political news of and editorializing on the Cold War, following the Second World War, also received extensive space in the pages of the Polish-American press. The emotional and intellectual involvement of Polonia and its press on the issue of a Communist dominated post-war Poland can be gleaned from Kowalik's assessment that "ninety percent of the Polish-American press is involved in a state of warfare with the Communist ruler of the subjugated Poland."<sup>120</sup>

However, with the increasing assimilation of Polish-Americans, particularly with those second and third generation Polish-Americans, most readers of the Polish-American press no longer look to its newspapers for news of the world. Instead, they turn to Polonia's newspapers to read about community news and items of individual recognition which fill the pages of most Polish-American newspapers.<sup>121</sup> In this respect, Obidinski writes that the press was still performing a service consistent with the traditions of the past in devoting a large proportion of articles related to interests of individuals and associations in Polonia, including persistent coverage of Polish-American community members' achievements. In fact, a content analysis of six contemporary Polish-American newspapers by Obidinski showed that only 14 percent of the material was devoted to news coverage of Poland, political or otherwise.<sup>122</sup> Further indicating that political news content in the Polish-American press was on the decline, in 1966 Fishman found that those non-English publications which were perceived as being a complete success are frequently among those devoting least space to materials on the mother country, while those devoting the most space were often perceived as having little or no success.<sup>123</sup>

World War II and Beyond:  
The Second and Third Waves

The outcome of the political consequences of the Jalta agreement and the conclusion of the Second World War brought a new "second wave" of Polish immigrants to the shores of the United States. Most of these Polish refugees, the "Displaced Persons," were ex-combatants, political prisoners, and intellectuals who refused to be repatriated to a Communist-ruled Poland and who felt deceived by the Super Powers' responsibility in post-war Poland's plight.<sup>124</sup>

Kowalik writes that these "last-war and post-war immigrants did not change the structure or statistics of the existing Polish-American press, but they influenced it ideologically, sharpened its political awareness, and helped to stiffen the demarcation line between the Communist and Democratic worlds." The post-war Polish refugees formed new organizations of their own and started such papers as The Bulletin of the Home Army, Kombatant W Ameryce (Veteran in America), and Sprawa Polska (The Polish Cause) which accentuated anti-Communist views, and sharpened the political awareness of the remaining Polish-American press, writes Kowalik. In his 1978 study, Kowalik predicted that this situation would continue since many of the old generation of editors-in-chief at existing publications had been

replaced by extremely capable and ideologically stable expatriate Polish journalists. Some of these new "hard-line" Polish journalists also created a "new brand of Polish-American journalism" with the establishment of such newspapers as Nowy Dziennik in 1971, considered to be one of the hard-line, anti-Communist papers.<sup>125</sup>

However, Pacyniak writes that even though the quality of the Polish-American press improved with this influx of refugee journalists, the Cold War and false hopes for a "Free Poland" often contributed to a waste of this newly acquired talent. According to Pacyniak, Polonia failed "to turn the increased Polish immigration to its political and economic advantage, [and] returned to its earlier status of being a large, but clannish community. The community however, was now much more heterogeneous than before, and this caused it to be fragment. Class divisions, generation gaps, and immigrant status divided Polonia into various groups, groups that either did not function jointly or were altogether alienated."<sup>126</sup>

Commenting on this division in Polonia, Lopata writes that this second (post-World War II) wave of immigrants kept themselves apart from Polonia organizations during their early years, or else formed new ones, and:

. . . feeling extremely alienated from the ethnic culture that the old emigration had created in Polonia which they found "archaic" and too low class for the most part. Heterogeneous to an extent exceeding even the prior emigration and reared in a different kind of Poland than remembered or learned by the Polish-Americans already living in Polonia, their presence and behavior had a profound effect on the community, increasing its interest in the Polish national culture society, changing the language in the Polish press, and shifting the content of the status competition.<sup>127</sup>

Likewise, when the "third wave" of Solidarity era refugees began to arrive in 1981, they, too, fit no better than had the post-World War II Displaced Persons, perhaps even worse, according to Bukowczyk. Many of these immigrants, while nationalistic, were ambitious and well-educated, and had a high probability of quickly assimilating into American society once they had mastered English, thereby leaving the older Polish immigrants behind. The new immigrants faced resentment from the older Polish community because their ambitions and lifestyles were different, being more European and middle-class. Conversely, some Solidarity era Polish émigrés criticized Polish-Americans for having a shallow view of freedom, for the level of support given to the new Polish cause, and for Polonia's misplaced priorities, such as more concern about Polish jokes than about Polish freedom.<sup>128</sup>

In the past, the Polish-American press had experienced religious, nationalistic, political, and

generational divisions. Since the end of the Second World War, not even a half century ago, it has also had to deal twice with serious divisions in Polonia, splits based on two distinct periods of immigration whose participants had extremely different lifestyles, ideas, and viewpoints about both Poland and America, than did the preceding immigrants. These differences in Polonia were subsequently reflected in its press, with newspapers attempting to meet the needs of certain groups of immigrants, or of all of Polonia, as well as reaching out to the assimilated descendants of these various immigrants.

From Vitality to Decline  
(and Back Again?)

We have examined the distribution, purpose, philosophy, and history of, as well as the Americanization process that occurred in the Polish-American press, and how these issues impacted upon its ability to meet the needs of Polonia's readers. Let us now look at another perspective of the Polish-American press: how it thrived, then declined over the years, and the reasons why it did so.

The late 19th and early 20th centuries were considered the heyday of Polish-language newspapers, according to Wytrwal and other historians of the Polish-

American press.<sup>129</sup> Between the years 1863 and 1894, Pacyniak mentions that 105 Polish periodicals were born, of which only 32 lasted till 1894 with two of those 32 being dailies. Pacyniak classifies this thirty-year period as being a boom or bust period for Polish periodicals, with some surviving, collapsing, or merely moving to another place. The major factors for the proliferation of Polish-language papers in this country, writes Pacyniak, were the need only for access to a print shop and the absence of licensing fees or special publication taxes which were prevalent in Europe at the time. These factors made it easy to start a periodical, but the still transient nature of the Polish community, itself, during these early years also contributed to the failure of many of the papers in this period, says Pacyniak.<sup>130</sup>

During the first decade of this century, as an influx of Polish immigrants left behind a politically and economically oppressed Europe, several publications which would become big names in the Polish-American press were started as the vernacular press was expanded to meet the needs of the large Polish metropolitan ghettos. Dziennik Polski (Polish Daily News) came out in Detroit in 1904. In 1908, the largest fraternal and insurance



organization, the P.N.A., started its own paper in Chicago, Dziennik Zwiaskowy Zgoda (Polish Daily Zgoda).<sup>131</sup>

During the period 1884 to 1920, Park found that 192 Polish periodicals were started while 119 stopped publishing (a net increase of 73), which gave the Polish press a 62 percent disappearance rate and placed it somewhere in the middle in proportion to the rest of the foreign-language newspapers and their birth to death ratios.<sup>132</sup> For this same period, Park also found a circulation of 986,866 for Polish journals, with 81 percent of them being commercial, 16 percent being organ publications, and three percent being for propaganda. Twenty-five percent of the Polish periodicals were dailies, noted Park.<sup>133</sup> He also examined the relationship of immigration to newspaper growth from 1901 to 1920 and finds that Polish immigration increased by 352 percent, yet there was only a 298 percent increase in papers started from 1901. Out of 122 papers started in this period, only 37 survived, giving a disappearance ratio of 70 percent.<sup>134</sup>

By 1919-1920, Park and Parot mention that: Zgoda of the P.N.A., had a paid circulation of 125,000; Narod Polski, published by the P.R.C.U., reached 80,000 readers; Dziennik Zwiaskowy had a circulation of 43,000

paid subscribers; and Gwiazda Polarna had a circulation of 89,785.<sup>135</sup>

Between 1920 and 1930, new periodicals continued to appear with 69 coming out during that time and 48 surviving during this period, Pacyniak notes.<sup>136</sup> Lopata mentions the existence of almost 100 Polish-language publications in 1925, with a circulation of 1,320,000 copies.<sup>137</sup>

The stabilization that occurred in the Polish press between 1920 and 1930 was short lived, Pacyniak writes, and decline started to set in due to the passing away of older Polish-speaking immigrants, the restrictive legislation enacting immigrant quotas, the Americanization of Polish-Americans, and the re-emigration of Polish-Americans to a newly independent Poland. Up until 1930, the Polish-American press was considered to have been growing both quantitatively and qualitatively, but after 1930 it experienced both a quantitative and a qualitative drop and the press reversed to a survival/adaptation mode, according to Pacyniak.<sup>138</sup>

Kuzniewski also sees the early 1930s as a turning point for Polish-American journalism. In addition to the aforementioned reasons, he also mentions the economic consequences of the Great Depression and the gradual loss

of competing editors and publishers through death and retirement as factors which meant the beginning of the end of the Polish-language press as it had appeared during the heyday of immigration. Although there were still 129 newspapers in existence in 1930, with a total readership of about one million, Kuzniewski also points out that the number of European-born Poles was declining rapidly in this country, but he also points out that the passing of the immigrant generation did not spell the end of the Polish press in America. The Polish-American press made efforts to survive by adapting through the introduction of English supplements or editions or of English-language sections into their papers, as previously mentioned. Nevertheless, despite these efforts to come to terms with Americanization in Polonia, Kuzniewski mentions that advertising revenue and readership continued to shrink in the 1930s. By 1938, only 53 weekly and 10 daily newspapers were still being published, according to Kuzniewski.<sup>139</sup> In contrast, only eight years earlier in 1930, Renkiewicz mentions that the Polish language press had stood at 84 papers, including 15 daily newspapers; a figure somewhat less than Kuzniewski's 1930 figure but which, nevertheless, indicated a downward trend.<sup>140</sup>

The effects of the Second World War and the ensuing Cold War on the Polish-American press have already been mentioned. New editors from the second wave of immigrants began to take hold of the reins of some of the older established newspapers, or to start up their own publications, most of which took a hard line on the Warsaw regime. In this respect, the increased attention on Poland and the addition of these post-war publications might be considered to have been a minor revival of sorts; however, the Polish-American press more than held its own in comparison to other foreign-language newspapers.

Wytrwal cites Theodore Maynard's observations in 1953 that the nine Polish dailies had a circulation almost twice as large as any of the Chinese, German, Italian, or Czech dailies and that with all Polish dailies, weeklies, and semi-weeklies added together, there was a Polish paper circulation approaching one million which greatly exceeded that of any other foreign language.<sup>141</sup> Hunter points out that, in 1960, the seven Polish-American dailies (four of which were bilingual) were exceeded in number only by those in the Spanish and Chinese press. The Polish-American press' 21 weeklies (nine of which were bilingual) were 12 behind the German-language weeklies, but were up in front in comparison

with the Italian, Hungarian, and Spanish papers.<sup>142</sup>

Lopata mentions that Polish-Americans formed only 12 percent of those Americans speaking a non-English language but that they maintained 22 percent of the foreign language press circulation.<sup>143</sup>

Between the years 1930 to 1960, Lopata writes that the number of Polish dailies decreased by 56 percent with a 47 percent drop in circulation. Weeklies, during this time, decreased by 72 percent with a corresponding decline in circulation of 74 percent. Monthlies, however, increased in number by 150 percent with an increase of 259 percent in circulation.<sup>144</sup> Kuzniewski says that this total number of Polish-American papers had shrunk to about 40 in the early 1960s and by half of this, again, by 1980.<sup>145</sup> He adds that most of these remaining papers were weeklies and monthlies, lending credence to Kowalik's supposition that this may have been an indication of financial difficulties in the newspaper business due to increasing production costs and competition from other mass media.<sup>146</sup>

Kowalik also observes that newspapers represented 28 percent of publications in 1978, whereas periodicals, ranging from monthlies to annuals, comprised 72 percent of the sum total. He adds that, in 1923, the opposite was true: newspapers comprised 88 percent and

periodicals only 12 percent of the total publications, indicating a dramatic shift from the dominance of newspapers to the current popularity of periodicals. In addition to indicating increased production costs, this variety may also indicate a more diversified social and cultural life pattern of Polish-Americans, according to Kowalik.<sup>147</sup>

Pacyniak referred to the situation of the declining Polish-American press in 1978 as "a holding action against further decline." He writes that only 69 Polish-American periodicals remained, including 14 weeklies and three dailies. All three dailies--Dziennik Zwiazkowy of Chicago, Dziennik Polski of Detroit, and Nowy Dziennik of New York--struggled for existence, saw improvement as difficult, and expansion as out of question; faced tremendous increases in production and labor costs and a declining readership, and were all money losing operations being supported either by subsidies, donations, or contributions. He predicted that Dziennik Zwiazkowy, even though supported by the P.N.A., would have to be reduced to a weekly in the near future. He mentioned that Dziennik Polski had been helped by a fund raising drive and still had to reduce its operations. Nowy Dziennik, meanwhile, was attempting to secure a

broad, nation-wide circulation with the cooperation of several Polonia organizations.<sup>148</sup>

But perhaps the future of the Polish-American press was to be both in what Roucek foresaw, over half a century ago, and in what Pacyniak failed to foresee a mere decade ago. Roucek, in his commentary on the future of the Polish press in America, said that it:

. . . must be one of decline, the reason for the judgment being the rapid and progressive Americanization of immigrant parents. It may well be, however, that in meeting the special needs of the second [and third] generation, the foreign press will find its future work and prospects by the provision of interesting material, written in English and presented in the style to which the younger generation has become accustomed to in the American press, its subjects, however, being so chosen that they may be a reminder of the traditions and culture of the mother country of their parents.<sup>149</sup>

In his assessment of the future of the Polish-American press in 1978, Pacyniak wrote that Polonia's press would only increase if emigration from Poland increased but he believed at the time that mass emigration was unlikely.<sup>150</sup> Little did he know in 1978 what the future held with the rise and fall of Solidarity and the arrival of yet a third wave of Polish immigrants on American shores.

### Research Questions

Based on what we have already examined of the literature on the Polish-American press prior to 1980 and how that press served the various needs of Polonia's

readers throughout its history, the following research questions have been proposed in an attempt to determine how that press has responded to and tried to meet the needs of its readers from the post 1980-1981 Solidarity era migration, the so-called third wave of immigrants, as well as how it has continued in trying to meet the needs of older and assimilated Polish-Americans:

- RQ1. What do surviving (pre-1980) and new (post 1980-1981) Polish-American newspapers view as the purpose of and functions performed by their publications?
- RQ2. Who do these newspapers define their readership or audience as being (i.e., local or national; old or new Polonia)?
- RQ3. Has the purpose of, the types of articles carried in, or the targeted audience of Polish-American newspapers changed from before the Solidarity era (1980-1981) to after this time period with the arrival in the United States of the third wave of Polish refugee and immigrant readers?
- RQ4. What (social) responsibility does the Polish-American press feel toward the newest wave of Polish immigrants/refugees that may be reading their publications?



- RQ5. Are there more articles since 1981 explaining United States history, the American political system, and/or encouraging political involvement for the benefit of recent immigrants?
- RQ6. Are English lessons included in Polish or in bilingual newspapers, to assist immigrants in Americanization, before or after 1980-1981?
- RQ7. Do the major surviving and newer Polish-American newspapers have a bilingual section? Has English or Polish usage increased/decreased since 1981?
- RQ8. Since the latest immigrants are considered more politically aware than earlier immigrants and their assimilated descendants and may, therefore, want to read more than the 14 percent of news on Poland that Obidinski observed in 1977, can an increase of political news on Poland be observed in the contemporary Polish press since 1981?
- RQ9. Since 1981, does the Polish-American press give greater emphasis to Polish nationalism and ethnicity or to Americanization and assimilation?
- RQ10. Has circulation in the Polish-American press increased since 1981 and the arrival of the third wave of immigrants?
- RQ11. Approximately what percentage of advertisements and classified ads in the Polish-American press are in

English/Polish and how has this ratio changed from just prior to 1980-1981 to after this period?

## CHAPTER 3

### METHOD

Wynar's 1986 Guide to the American Ethnic Press: Slavic and East European Newspapers and Periodicals is perhaps the most current and comprehensive bibliography of the Polish-American press. Using this as a source of Polish-American newspapers still in existence, the major newspapers with circulations of more than a few thousand were selected for further examination. Excluded from consideration as being beyond the scope of this study were all those specialized publications limited in the scope of the topics they covered and those limited in their purpose, such as strictly religious publications, professional publications (e.g. Bulletin--National Medical and Dental Association of America and National Advocates Society), special purpose publications (such as Conradia), Polish veteran publications, and scholarly journals such as Polish American Studies. Publications in Polish, English, and in both languages, as listed in Wynar's bibliography were considered.

Those publications ultimately selected for examination were also those publications available locally or whose editorial staffs were able to be contacted via telephone. Several of the publications which were considered were unable to be contacted after

numerous times and it is presumed that they are no longer being published. Several of the publications observed were not locally available and copies were requested from their editors. Of those received, most were of only recent dates which allowed a glimpse at how various newspapers in the Polish-American press are presently performing but which did not allow a comparison with past (pre-1980) performance in meeting Polonia's needs. Furthermore, in examining the two major Polish-language dailies, Dziennik Zwiazkowy and Nowy Dziennik, a proper content analysis was stifled by the sporadic holdings of those newspapers (which were better represented than other papers); individual dates were missing here and there, as well as whole years for these and other papers. Finally, attempts were made to contact and to follow up on new publications in Chicago mentioned by various editors. Some of these new publications, however, either do not have a listed telephone number or perhaps have already gone out of business or relocated elsewhere.

The papers that have been examined, then, are general circulation publications with circulations over several thousand, both in English and Polish and have been decided upon as much by chance (of availability) as by choice. This, then, is the limitation of this study that might be improved upon by future researchers of the

Polish-American press having access to the archives and libraries of Chicago, where many of these original source materials are available.

Beyond mere availability, there were particular reasons why those publications examined were finally selected. For example, a more rigorous qualitative and limited quantitative content analysis was done on Nowy Dziennik of New York and on Chicago's Dziennik Zwiazkowy. These two large circulation dailies were selected because they represent geographic areas with large concentrations of Polish Americans: the Greater New York/New Jersey area and Chicago. Geographically, they are two distinct sections of the country: the East Coast and the Midwest.

Dziennik Polski (Polish Daily News) of Detroit was examined but not in as much depth as Dziennik Zwiazkowy, already chosen to represent the Midwest. Similarly, Gwiazda Polarna of Stevens Point, Wisconsin, was also studied but, again, not to the degree as were the first two previously mentioned publications. It was decided to study Gwiazda Polarna because it is a popular, widely distributed newspaper that can be found across the nation in newsstands that serve a Polish-American community.

Fraternal organs are some of the oldest publications in the Polish-American press and have some of the largest circulations. Therefore, some study was

given to Zgoda, the biweekly fraternal organ of the Polish National Alliance in Chicago and to its historical rival, the Polish Roman Catholic Union, and its organ Narod Polski.

Several English-language Polish-American publications were also examined to assess how that element of the press had reacted to the recent influx of Polish immigrants in trying to meet the needs of these new readers, as well as those needs of the assimilated, second and third generation Polish-Americans. The Polish American Journal and The Am-Pol Eagle, both published in Buffalo, were selected for consideration in this role. The former newspaper has seven editions receiving nationwide distribution while the latter paper is primarily a local paper serving Buffalo and its suburbs.

Finally, several very recent Polish-language periodicals established since 1981 by immigrants of the third wave were also examined as representatives of a new Polish-American journalism that continues to evolve. These three periodicals, all of which are magazines, are Emisariusz (Emissary) of Denver, and the Kurier Polonian-American and Rewia (Review), both from Chicago.

In carrying out this study, a combination of methods, which Wimmer and Dominick refer to as triangulation, was used in utilizing a qualitative

research method along with a limited amount of quantitative research.<sup>151</sup>

The method of qualitative research used was the telephone survey of editors and reporters of the aforementioned publications selected for study. However, rather than using a questionnaire with responses that are easily quantifiable, the approach used was one using more broader based, open-ended questions which may have then been followed up on, much like the journalistic style of interviewing. The questions asked of those interviewed were the research questions posed at the end of Chapter Two and directed at the editor or reporter as the representative of his publication.

A limited content analysis was also done on several of the publications examined to complement the telephone survey and to otherwise gather information that might not have been readily available through a telephone interview; namely, information that might depend on the memory or institutional knowledge of the individual being interviewed. Individual contents of newspapers were also analyzed to obtain more objective answers to the research questions than might necessarily be gained from a publication's representative, who might have a vested interest in making his paper look better than it might actually be in meeting the needs of Polonia's readers,

both the old and the new. Where possible, as it was with Dziennik Zwiazkowy, Nowy Dziennik, Gwiazda Polarna, and Polish American Journal which were available in the Library of Congress or in this author's personal holdings, the newspapers were examined prior to the telephone interviews. For the remaining publications studied, the standard list of aforementioned research questions was asked of the person interviewed and a copy of that publication was requested for subsequent analysis and comparison to information gathered in the interview.

Two newspapers, for reasons already mentioned, were selected for a more in-depth analysis: Dziennik Zwiazkowy and Nowy Dziennik. Two years were selected for examination prior to the rise of Solidarity in 1980 and two years after the demise in 1981, which precipitated the third wave of Polish immigrants. The year 1975 was originally desired as the midpoint in the 1970s and a full six years before the influx of the third wave. However, both newspapers were not available for the dates desired for that year and so the year 1977 was selected. As a second pre-1980-81 year, the year 1979 was selected for study. Since Polish immigration increased between 1981-1984, the year 1983 was selected to see if the Polish-American press had begun to respond to the newest Polonia. A significant jump in immigrants admitted from



Poland occurred again in 1985, and so that year was chosen as the second post-1981 year of study. The content analysis is inconsistent between all publications examined because, for those publications not available locally, only recent (1989) issues were subsequently made available by those editors interviewed.

For the analysis of Nowy Dziennik and Dziennik Zwiazkowy, four specific dates were selected because it was believed that the trends being looked for in the research questions (i.e., meeting and maintaining the need for ethnicity of the older, assimilated Polonia, and meeting possible Americanization needs and the increased political awareness needs of the newest Polonia) might best be observed around these dates. May 2 was selected because events might be included on the prior day's May Day activities in Poland, as well as plans for celebrations of Constitution Day (commemorating the constitution of May 3, 1791), which most non-Communist Poles and most Polish-Americans celebrate. July 23 was selected to observe any political news on Poland that might be carried as a result of Communist Poland's celebration of the July 22, 1944 Lublin Constitution. November 8 was selected during a time around November elections in this country and perhaps as a time when more articles on the United States government and its politics

might appear in the papers for the benefit of recent immigrants. Finally, January 8 was randomly selected as a fourth date in the year in the attempt to roughly represent the four seasons or four quarters of the year.

In attempting to answer the specific research questions on how the Polish-American press served the needs of Polonia, before and after 1980-1981, the following articles were counted:

- Articles explaining United States history and the American political system, or encouraging political involvement.

- English lessons.

- How much English was used, measured in articles or pages, in a bilingual newspaper as a proportion of the entire newspaper.

- How much political (and other) news appeared on Poland, measured in column inches and given as a percentage of total news. Under this category, historical articles on Poland were not included as they are not current news; instead, such articles were considered as promoting heritage or ethnicity. The editorial page was included in this computation.

- Other types of international news were noted, but not counted, as to any preference for geographical coverage (e.g., Eastern Europe).

• Advertisements in English were counted and a percentage of those in English to the total number was computed when there were more than a few in English. Classified advertisements were treated similarly.

In a more qualitative manner, overall judgments were made as to what the newspaper's purpose was and whether it served more of a Polish nationalism/ethnicity role or an Americanization/assimilation role.

Problems in translation from Polish were overcome by the author's elementary knowledge of the language and, particularly, by the generous assistance given by the author's wife.

As alluded to or mentioned earlier, in gathering the data to answer the research questions, the author looked for indications which might indicate how the Polish-American press meets the needs of the newest wave of Polonia through educating on United States government history, and English language, through promoting Americanization, through maintaining the Polish language, through carrying greater news on Poland, and through advertising products and services in the country. Similarly, for meeting the needs of the older (those here before 1980) Polonia, indications in the Polish-American press which emphasized ethnicity and Polish heritage for those already assimilated Polish-Americans, language

maintenance for those surviving second wave immigrants and descendants of first wave immigrants who still speak Polish, news on Poland, advertisements, and Polish-American organizational news, were all observed.

Finally, a word should be said about circulation figures. Only a few publishers of the Polish-American press, and other ethnic presses, subscribe to the services of either the Audit Bureau of Circulation (ABC), the Controlled and Qualified Paid Audit (BPA), or are members of the Verified Audit Circulation Company (VAC) or Certified Audit of Circulation (CAC), as Kowalik similarly noted in his study.<sup>152</sup> Therefore, the most common source of circulation figures for a given ethnic publication is the "Statement of ownership, management and circulation" made by the newspapers on October 1 each year to the U.S. Postal Service.

## CHAPTER 4

### FINDINGS

#### Nowy Dziennik (Polish Daily News)

Nowy Dziennik began publishing in 1971 in New York City, but its corporate headquarters moved to Jersey City, New Jersey in 1978. It is published daily in the evening, except Sunday and Monday, with a combined Saturday/Sunday weekend edition coming out Saturday evening. The paper follows an independent editorial policy although the paper is closely associated, in its ideas and concepts, to the Polish American Congress (an umbrella organization comprised of the majority of Polonia's organizations in the United States) and makes a point of publishing appeals of the P.A.C., according to Boleslaw Wierzbianski.

Wierzbianski, editor and publisher, said in an interview on March 27, 1989 that the purpose of his paper is that of a "normal paper . . . it tries to inform" and is "addressed to those who read Polish; for the old Polonia and for the new Polish 'martyrs' who came from Poland recently." Examination of the paper resulted in this author's impression that Nowy Dziennik particularly appeals to the "cold warriors" of the second wave of Polish immigrants who came to the United States following

World War II rather than return to a Communist-dominated Poland.

Wierzbianski admitted that his paper takes a political stand against Communism and Soviet domination. Examination of the paper bears this out: about half of the international news (other than on Poland) on any given day pertains to Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union, the spreading influence of Communist regimes, or United States foreign policy on these matters.

The editor said that the paper does run articles informing their newest readers from Poland on the American political system and American culture. However, examination of 10 newspapers for those dates and years mentioned in Chapter 3 (newspapers for 1977, for January 8, 1979 and for July 23, 1983 were either missing or not held) revealed no specific, educational articles on American history or politics that might be of interest to a recent immigrant. Perhaps the paper's usual coverage of American government and other public affairs issues in the Polish language fulfills the immigrant's need for information on the American political system but, from the papers examined, there appears to be no effort to include such articles that may be intentionally educational in nature. Several articles, however, were seen on an Immigration Bill and on helping immigrants

adjust which would be of particular interest to the recent immigrant. Wierzbianski added that the paper also helps by informing such readers on the number of visas allocated, as well as on new immigration regulations introduced and on State Department and Immigration & Naturalization Service policies on Eastern Europe. In this sense, Nowy Dziennik plays an informative role in meeting the needs of the third wave of Polish-Americans.

The paper helps to serve the needs of both new and old Polonia by also informing on the situation in Poland, said Wierzbianski. Nowy Dziennik appears to carry more news on Poland, both political and general news, than did the other general purpose periodicals examined.

The paper's format is conveniently organized with major national and international news carried on the front page, which then jumps to the last page. The second and third pages are a section entitled "Z Polski i o Polsce" (From Poland, On Poland) devoted entirely to news on Poland. Subsequent pages include one devoted to news in Polonia, entitled "Swiat Polonii" (Polonia's World), the editorial page, more national and international news, a sports page, a page on Polonia organizations entitled "Z Zycia Polonii" (Polonia's Life), a page containing excerpts from Polish literature, and one page for classified advertisements.

The paper's inclusion of news on Poland, most of which was political with an occasional article on Polish culture, varied from 13 percent on November 8, 1979 to a high of 22 percent on May 2 of that year. In 1983, following the flurry of the Solidarity era and the arrival of these third wave immigrants, news on Poland was observed to have increased from a low that year of 21 percent on November 8 to a high of 44 percent of the newshole on May 2. Two years later, in 1985, news on Poland fluctuated less but was still higher than before 1980. News on Poland varied from 30 percent on July 23 to 35 percent on January 8 and November 8, 1985. An increase in "the amount of material on the Polish martyrs," according to Wierzbianski, is the only change his paper has made from before the Solidarity era (1980-81) to after that time.

Nowy Dziennik also serves both Polonias through the advertisements and classified ads it carries. It appears to carry fewer advertisements throughout its pages than do the other newspapers examined, and it carries about the same amount of classifieds as the others with the exception of Dziennik Zwiazkowy. This latter paper, which advertises quite heavily, carries numerous advertisements throughout its pages, including several pages dedicated to advertisements, and includes three



whole pages of classified ads in its weekend edition. From the viewpoint of a news reader, Nowy Dziennik is easy to read since the news is not wrapped around advertisements as in most mainstream American newspapers.

According to Wierzbianski, 25 percent to 30 percent of their advertisements are currently in English with the remainder in Polish. With more Polish immigrants arriving, said Wierzbianski, there was a need for more advertisements/classified ads in Polish with their opening of new businesses or seeking wives. The results of the content analysis sustain his remarks. In 1979, 33 percent to 48 percent of all classifieds and advertisements were in English. However, by 1983, only 14 percent to 20 percent were in English. Again, by 1985, ads and classifieds were back up to between 17 percent and 32 percent, of their total, in the English language.

Only about half of these ads dealt with doctors, lawyers, and businessmen from the Polish community, with products/films from Poland, or with agencies that deliver packages and various products to Poland, as one might expect from an ethnic newspaper. The remaining half of the ads were from non-Polish businessmen, professionals, and companies merely trying to expand their market by taking advantage of yet another avenue, an ethnic

newspaper serving an ethnic community. Wierzbianski mentioned that there are now many more advertisers "from the non-Polish community trying to get the business of the Polish community" which, he added, also explains the recent increase again in English advertisements.

Nowy Dziennik offers advertisements for English-language courses and classes, but the paper does not carry an English lesson column. Several English course ads can usually be found in the papers examined from 1983 and 1985.

In those papers examined, only 1 percent to 8 percent of the news was in English in 1979. However, by 1983 and through 1985, no English-language articles appeared in the papers examined; the paper was strictly a Polish paper except for those ads in English already mentioned. Occasionally, an editorial will appear in both Polish and English in order to reach more people, such as members of Congress, Wierzbianski said, but no such bilingual editorials were observed in the papers under consideration. He added that the paper now has a monthly column in English entitled "New Horizon" in their 16 page monthly magazine insert, Pol-Am Review, but this, too, was not observed by the author.

Estimated publisher's reports listed Nowy Dziennik's 1977 circulation at 15,000, and at 10,000 for

daily circulation and 12,000 for weekend circulation in 1979, according to Ayer Directory of Publications. The IMS 1983 Ayer Directory of Publications showed a daily circulation of 12,000 with 15,000 papers circulated on the weekend. Nothing is listed for 1985, but the Gale Directory of Publications listed a 1988 daily circulation of 19,500 with 22,000 on the weekend. According to Wierzbianski, his paper's 1989 circulation is currently at 22,000 daily and 24,000 on the weekend. He said that the paper is distributed nationwide, although mostly to the eastern states, with several subscriptions as far as Texas, Arizona, and California.

Overall, Nowy Dziennik appears to balance between stressing ethnicity and Americanization. It maintains the Polish language and disseminates cultural heritage and Polonia organizational information, but it also carries American news as well as articles and ads to assist the recent immigrants.

Dziennik Zwiazkowy  
(Polish Daily Zgoda)

Anna Rychlinski, editor-in-chief of Chicago's Dziennik Zwiazkowy, views the purpose of her newspaper as being "like any daily; to inform on national, international and community news." In a telephone interview on March 23, 1989, Rychlinski said another

function of her paper is to bridge the gap between Polonias (i.e., the first, second, and most recent third, waves of Polish immigrants) through printing and explaining their various points of view and through reporting on the meetings of both the old and new Polonias and encouraging each Polonia group to attend each other's activities.

Rychlinski said that the paper's audience is a wide readership of all of Polonia, with the largest readership being local (the Chicago area) but also with readers nationwide and throughout the world. Virtually every country in the world is represented by a subscriber, Rychlinski said.

Circulation in 1977, according to Ayer Directory of Publications was at 14,255. For the years 1979 and 1983, the same source lists Dziennik Zwiazkowy's circulation at 14,788. Circulation supposedly remained at this level until 1988 when it rose to 15,018, according to the Gale Directory of Publications. Rychlinski said that current 1989 circulation stood at 16,000 copies daily and 20,000 copies for the weekend (Friday/Saturday) edition. Only 5,000 of those are actual subscriptions, she said, with the remainder being circulated in the numerous newsstands throughout Chicago's large Polish community.

Dziennik Zwiazkowy's circulation is constantly increasing, said Rychlinski, who added that they "didn't enlarge the paper to sell copies; [rather] there is a need and we expect to expand." Rychlinski said that she was quite certain that the latest immigrants have contributed to the greater need for a newspaper such as Dziennik Zwiazkowy. But it was not just the immigrants, she said, which contributed to the increased circulation; it is also due to some of the American-born young adults who have learned Polish in the Saturday Polish schools still popular in Chicago.

On news coverage of Poland, Rychlinski said her paper is "geared toward news from the United States and also news on Poland" and that the paper tries to stay up-to-date with news on Poland, especially during the Solidarity era and now. However, Rychlinski claimed that the amount of news coverage on Poland has remained about the same, both before and after Solidarity, due to the paper's layout and space reserved for other material. The content analysis of this paper indicated that 7 percent to 17 percent of the newshole was devoted to news on Poland in 1977. In 1979, 1 percent to 9 percent of the news was devoted to Poland. An increase was shown in 1983 when 9 percent to 20 percent was on Poland, but by 1985 news on Poland was back down, again, at 1 percent to

5 percent. There are, however, other columns on Polish history or, for example, on Constitution Day which provide information on the Polish ethnic heritage, but which were not considered as current news on Poland. Likewise, a lengthy excerpt from a work of Polish literature is also always included in the paper, but it was not considered, either, as being news on Poland.

Looking at other news coverage, like Nowy Dziennik, Dziennik Zwiazkowy gives as much as half of its remaining international news coverage to issues on Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. Otherwise, news coverage is much like any other American newspaper and understandably so since many of its news articles are from the major wire services.

American political news is covered in a similar manner and extent as is also done by a mainstream American newspaper. Articles and editorials can be found in the paper on local, state, and national level politicians and elections.

Although no articles were found, in the 15 issues examined, explicitly explaining the American political system or the history of this nation in an educational context, Rychlinski claimed that her paper has run many features on the history of the United States and Chicago, on election campaigns and the candidates, and has

supplemented these articles with others on how the political system works. She said the paper has included a complete translation of the U.S. Constitution in the past. Rychlinski called this informative and educational function that her paper purportedly performs as an example of "democracy at work."

Rychlinski also sees her paper fulfilling a social responsibility to its newest immigrant readers by informing them on immigration rules, requirements, and laws. She said that the paper currently runs a column in which recent immigrants can write in with their questions and answers from the regional director of the Immigration & Naturalization Service are given. Her paper has also printed questions and answers for the citizenship test as well as information on the recent amnesty program for immigrants, she said.

Dziennik Zwiazkowy's readers are also well served by the numerous advertisements run by the newspaper. "We never had so many ads [before]," commented Rychlinski on the increase in the weekend edition, recently, from 22 to 26 pages in the past to the current 44 to 46 page weekend edition. "We do make an impact on the consumer market," she said, adding that her paper's ads are about equally divided between Polish and English, with perhaps a few more in Polish at times.

As mentioned previously, Dziennik Zwiaskowy runs pages wholly devoted to advertisements as well as several pages of classified ads in its weekend edition. During the week, it carries perhaps only a half page of classifieds but it carries more ads throughout its pages than does Nowy Dziennik. Content analysis of all ads indicates wide fluctuations in English/Polish usage for ads. The May 2, 1977 issue had 56 percent of all ads in English. On November 8 of that year, 43 percent of employment ads were in English, while 100 percent of housing ads were in Polish, with all remaining classified ads in Polish. In 1979, the papers examined showed that about 30 to 31 percent of housing ads were in English, while 71 to 77 percent of employment ads were in English. In 1983, housing ads appeared in English from 17 to 33 percent, while employment ads were in English only from 13 percent to 29 percent. In 1985, 16 percent to 33 percent of the housing ads appeared in English while 30 percent to 42 percent of employment ads were in English. The variance in percentage of English and Polish over time is probably too drastic to show any kind of trend.

Dziennik Zwiaskowy ran short English articles, primarily, on only six of the 15 days examined, generally only running 18 to 22 column inches on general topics such as on people and organizations in Polonia. On two



days which were studied, January 8 and May 2, 1985, sports news on bowling and soccer teams of the Polish National Alliance could be found in English. Rychlinski mentioned that the paper used to run an English column in the weekend edition until the writer recently died. Beyond this, P.N.A. bowling league sports news is carried in English, she said adding that the paper does not emphasize the inclusion of English because "there are other excellent papers in English" in the Chicago area.

English lessons in the pages of Dziennik Zwiazkowy were not observed for the years studied, although advertisements were seen for English courses being conducted. Rychlinski said the paper did run English lessons for over a year, which many of the paper's readers appreciated, but the teacher who compiled the lesson no longer does it for the paper.

Rychlinski sees the paper's role as somewhere between the roles of Polish nationalism/ethnicity and assimilation. "We do it all," Rychlinski said, adding that "much [of what we do] is for Polish independence--we want our country free and independent--but it is also an American paper." The paper, she said, is "devoted to America, but it is also devoted to keeping the old Polonia informed and to keeping communication between the generations [of immigrants]."

### Dziennik Polski (Polish Daily News)

Dziennik Polski of Detroit is actually two separate papers. Although they have the same name, not only is one in Polish and the other in English, their contents and audiences are totally different. The English edition serves those readers who are the second and third generation Polish-American descendants of immigrants, while the Polish edition is meant to serve the first generation, the original immigrants, according to Ewa Ziomecka, a staff reporter for the Polish edition who was interviewed on March 28, 1989.

Ziomecka said the purpose of the Polish edition, which was established in 1904, was to inform Polish-speaking Polonia about what is happening in the world and to keep the Polish community together by informing them of upcoming events.

The need now for such a Polish newspaper is incredible because of the many Polish immigrants coming to the United States and to the Detroit area, Ziomecka said. The paper faced some difficult times in recent years which Ziomecka attributed to Polish-American reluctance and lack of pride in identifying themselves as Poles. Polish-Americans are now proud again to be Polish and this, along with the recent wave of immigrants, has helped increase circulation recently. However, it has

not been enough to revert back to a daily newspaper; in 1983, Dziennik Polski began publishing weekly, on Saturdays, instead of daily.

The purpose of the English edition, according to Donald Horkey, general manager and editor of the English edition, is to serve a readership of Americans of Polish background who do not speak Polish.

Ayer Directory of Publications lists the publisher's estimated figure for a 1977 combined circulation at 16,000. The same source lists a decreased circulation of 12,000 for both 1979 and 1983, and which continues to be listed through 1988. Horkey said that since July, 1988, Dziennik Polski had increased circulation of its English edition by 17 percent and by 5 percent to 6 percent in the Polish edition. Currently, combined circulation is at 15,000, with the Polish edition circulating at 9,000 to 10,000 and the English edition at 6,000, according to Horkey. Horkey partly attributes this increase to an improved product with better stories and a better layout.

However, Horkey is far from satisfied with the circulation level of both editions of the paper because it actually has a poor penetration rate. He mentions that there are 600,000 Polish-Americans in metropolitan Detroit and 1.1 million in all of Michigan, yet his

paper, the only major Polish-American paper in the state, still only has a circulation of 15,000 readers. The paper hired a full-time advertisement manager this year and he brought in \$15,000 in ads in his first three months, Horkey proudly states after reflecting back on a time only a few years ago when the paper stayed alive only because the community held fund raisers for its survival.

Two issues of the Polish edition (March 21 and April 4, 1989) and two issues of the English edition (March 15 and March 29, 1989) were examined. Consequently, an exact comparison between the Polish and English editions was unable to be performed, as was a comparison to the pre-1980 time period. However, how Dziennik Polski presently serves the needs of both the old and new Polonia might still be gleaned.

Horkey said that the Polish edition carried more news on Poland, which is of interest to the immigrants who arrived recently. The English edition carries only major news stories on Poland because he has not found a heightened interest on Polish news from English-speaking Polish-Americans, Horkey said. Ziomecka said that the recent Polish immigrants are also disinterested in politics. "Many [immigrants] who came here left Poland because they were tired of politics . . . they came to

escape, to get rid of it," and so the paper does not stress Polish politics in its news, she said.

Examination of the papers Horkey provided indicated that 9 percent of the news on March 21 and 18 percent of the news on April 4, in the Polish editions, was devoted to news on Poland. In contrast, both English edition issues provided contained no news on or about Poland, but rather news strictly on the Polish community in Detroit.

Rather than news on the homeland, those who recently came are interested more in what is going on in America rather than in Poland, said Ziomecka. The front page of the Polish edition carries an assortment of national and international news, with no apparent emphasis on Eastern Europe or the Soviet Union. Beyond that, there is only organizational news and perhaps an article or two on Polish culture or some Polish historical figure. Similarly, the English edition is comprised mostly of community and organizational news within the local Polonia.

There appear to be no regular articles explaining the American political system for immigrants, nor are there English lessons in the Polish edition for their benefits. Likewise, there are no Polish lessons in the English edition for the benefit of assimilated Polish-Americans.

However, Ziomecka claimed that Dziennik Polski serves the needs of the new immigrants by including columns explaining their city, county and state and a column on immigration law.

Both papers have recently increased the number of advertisements they run, with the Polish edition carrying proportionately more. Ads in the English edition are exclusively in English. Those ads and classified ads in the Polish edition usually are about 40 percent in English, Horkey said. Examination of both Polish edition issues provided revealed that 47 percent of all ads were in English, in both issues.

It appears that Dziennik Polski's two editions do little to stress ethnicity, beyond coverage of organizations, through their limited coverage of heritage issues and news on Poland. Similarly, they seem to offer insufficient material in helping the new immigrant to assimilate.

#### Gwiazda Polarna (Polar Star)

Gwiazda Polarna, of Stevens Point, Wisconsin, was established around the turn of the century as an independent weekly which is now published every Friday.

The paper has both a national and an international audience, according to its managing editor, Edward Dusza, who was interviewed on March 23, 1989. Dusza said that

the paper has subscribers in Canada and Argentina and, within the United States, the paper is widely distributed throughout New England and the Detroit and Chicago areas. Stevens Point, however, has only a small Polish-American community and so local distribution is limited, Dusza added.

The circulation, Dusza said, has stayed about the same for 40 years: about 22,000 copies per week are distributed. The Ayer Directory of Publications lists a recent low circulation of 21,400 in 1978 which increased up to 25,452 in 1984. After 1984, the paper decreased back down to 22,000, according to the Gale Directory of Publications.

The paper's readership, according to Dusza, is "between the old and the new Polonia." From four issues of the paper available to this author which were examined (May 7, July 30, and November 12, 1983, and January 7, 1984), it appears that Gwiazda Polarna is perhaps the most well-rounded Polish-American newspaper capable of serving the needs of both the old and the new Polonias.

For both older Polish-American and recent immigrants, the Polish-language paper provides information in and maintains the mother-tongue. For younger Polish-Americans of the second or third generation, or for those in mixed marriages, the paper

prints various articles on Poland, its literature, and life in Polonia in a page devoted to English. For the recent immigrant striving to learn survival English, at least one such basic English lesson was carried in the January 7, 1984 issue.

Most of the advertisements carried are for various items that can be sent to Poland or for travel agencies arranging for travel to Poland; an important consideration for the new immigrant who strongly desires to help the family he left behind in Poland where life is difficult, as well as for those second and third generation Polish-Americans, many of whom still help distant relatives in the "old country." Interestingly, the predominance of such advertisements in Gwiazda Polarna is probably due to the paper's geographically wide circulation and to its limited local circulation, thereby precluding it from carrying advertisements from local businesses and professionals and opting, instead, for more broad-based products that it can effectively advertise. According to Dusza, his paper carries advertisements for the small companies, the Polish businesses, because the big American companies do not like the ethnic press. The four issues examined also displayed numerous ads for English courses, books, and



cassettes--an ad of great benefit to the new Polonia readers.

Only 3 percent to 6 percent of the advertisements carried through the papers' pages were in English. In the classified section on the paper's back page of the second section, 22 percent to 43 percent of the classified ads were in English, most of them being for housing. When combined, only 17 percent to 31 percent of all ads appeared in English. Dusza mentioned that the paper has had a 300 percent increase in English advertisements received in the last eight years, but that most of these are usually translated into Polish.

When asked how the paper changed from before 1980-1981 to after the Solidarity era, Dusza said that there was a change in the articles that were run. Before this era, the paper was "more for fun" but, beginning with Solidarity, it "became more political," Dusza said. The banner of Gwiazda Polarna even includes the Solidarity logo, beneath crossed American and Polish flags, in both corners and on either side of the newspaper's name.

After 1980-1981, the paper increased its political news by 30 percent, or by two more pages, according to Dusza. Upon examination, the July 30, 1983 issue revealed that 12 percent of its newshole was either news or commentary on Poland, and the November 12, 1983

issue's newshole was comprised of 11 percent of Polish news and commentary. The May 7, 1983 issue contained slightly more, at 18 percent, probably due to Constitution Day and May Day occurring during that month. The January 7, 1984 paper was incomplete and was not analyzed.

However, Dusza remarked that people of both Polonias were getting tired of political news. Dusza said this was particularly true for the immigrants for whom it is "a time when you don't want to hurt . . . you just want to be with others . . . to get accustomed." Dusza said that the paper had been running about three pages of news on Poland until recently, but that it would be cutting it back because his readers were not so interested. Much of the political news on Poland in Gwiazda Polarna is not hard, objective news but is, rather, subjective and mixed with commentary, without being placed on the editorial page. In this respect, the paper more closely resembles a European, or perhaps an early Polish-American paper, than it does an American paper.

Gwiazda Polarna does not carry articles on American history or politics except, perhaps, for an occasional article on how to become a citizen, said Dusza. This paper, it was observed, also prints articles on social

security, on how to file income tax forms, and on other legal advice in assistance to the recent immigrants.

Gwiazda Polarna also serves the older and assimilated Polonia's need for maintaining their Polish ethnicity by running articles on Polish history, literature, as well as news on Polonia within the United States.

In trying to assess whether this paper does more for its readers in promoting assimilation or in retaining ethnicity, Dusza said that the "people [of the news staff] feel a strong loyalty to both [goals]." Indeed, Gwiazda Polarna appears to be one of the more effective papers in meeting the needs of two diverse communities of Polish-Americans.

#### Zgoda (Harmony)

Zgoda, established in Chicago in 1881, is the oldest and largest circulating newspaper in the Polish-American press. It is issued semi-monthly as the organ of the Polish National Alliance, and therefore is sent to all of the organization's members. Zgoda is published by Alliance Printers and Publishers, Inc. who also put out Dziennik Zwiazkowy. Both publications are associated with the P.N.A. but, while Zgoda is its official organ, Dziennik Zwiazkowy is editorially independent.

Ayer Directory of Publications lists Zgoda as having a circulation of 91,000 through 1980, increasing to 98,000 from 1981 through 1986, and then falling back down to 91,500 in 1988, according to Gale Directory of Publications. Wojciech Wierzewski, editor of Zgoda who was interviewed on March 23, 1989, said that the paper's official circulation is around 91,500 but that 100,000 copies are printed every two weeks.

Membership in the P.N.A. and, therefore, circulation of Zgoda appeared to have increased from 1981 to 1986 and perhaps coincided with the influx of new immigrants. However, Wierzewski said that this new Polonia is independent and is not attracted to such insurance fraternals as the P.N.A. or to "the support offered in the past by the Polish 'ghetto'."

Wierzewski is less optimistic about the future of such fraternal organs as Zgoda since two-thirds of the membership is 60 years old or older and every month a thousand members die.

As a fraternal organ, Zgoda serves its membership through inclusion of news on various P.N.A. programs, actions by its board of directors, and activities of its lodges and councils.

As a type of specialized publication, it serves the functions expected of it as an organ. It does not,

however, serve the needs of the wider Polonia because it is not a general circulation publication.

### Narod Polski (Polish Nation)

Narod Polski, established in Chicago in the late 1800s, is the semi-monthly fraternal organ of the Polish Roman Catholic Union of America for Catholic Polish-Americans. Narod Polski, along with Zgoda are the two most widely known and distributed fraternal organs of the Polish-American press.

The purpose of Narod Polski, according to its assistant editor, Jeanne Kuprianczyk, is to provide news on the societies and meetings of the P.R.C.U.A. and on the Catholic Church within Polonia. The paper has also added articles on profiles of its parent organization members, a sports section covering various teams and leagues within the P.R.C.U.A., and letters from its readers when space permits, since priority is given to coverage of meetings, said Kuprianczyk who was interviewed on March 23, 1989. Also covered, she added, are the personal achievements and marriages of its members/readers.

Narod Polski does not cover politics, neither Polish nor American, nor does it carry advertisements. The paper, according to Kuprianczyk, does not take a political stand and, therefore, does not even print

anything critical of Poland or of Communism or other "touchy concerns."

It is a bilingual publication; for the last 20 years, Narod Polski's 12-page format has consisted of eight pages in English and four in Polish. Prior to that time, the majority of the paper had been printed in Polish, but the paper switched with the change in its readership, Kuprianczyk said.

Kuprianczyk sees her paper as being "more for the old Polonia but also reaching out to the new Polonia. We let them [the new Polonia] know what's going on now with the old Polonia and vice versa." She said that the paper also now tries to reach out to those of mixed ethnic background--the descendants of the Polish immigrants who have intermarried with someone from a different ethnic background.

Narod Polski does make a minimal attempt at helping and reaching out to the new immigrants by announcing when and where English classes will be held and by printing information from the Immigration and Naturalization Service on eligibility for residency and specific offices to contact.

Although Kuprianczyk claimed a circulation of over 100,000 for Narod Polski, Ayer Directory of Publications lists estimated publisher's figures of 44,000 in 1977 which declined continuously to 30,000 in 1988.

### Polish American Journal

The Polish American Journal is a descendant of several Polish-language newspapers originating in Pennsylvania around 1911. The paper took its current name and switched entirely to English in January, 1944. Now published in Buffalo, New York, the monthly paper has seven editions serving various Polonia organizations and geographic areas. They are: Buffalo; Polish National Alliance of Brooklyn, USA; Association of Sons of Poland; Polish Union of USA; Polish Beneficial Association; National edition; and The Union of Poles in America edition. All these editions are essentially the same as the national edition, said Mark Kohan, the paper's recently appointed editor-in-chief, except that news from the various fraternal organizations, over which they have their own editorial control, is inserted along with the national edition's news to make the specific editions.

Prior to the paper's language change 45 years ago, the paper saw its purpose as taking care of the immigrants in the Polish community, Kohan said in an interview on March 22, 1989. The paper's founder, Henry Dende, however, saw the changes in Polonia from assimilation, before the second wave of immigrants arrived after World War II, and "decided to take care of Polish-Americans in Polonia" when he switched the paper

to English, Kohan said. Following the war, Dende's philosophy was to "just let the other [new] Polonia know what Polish-Americans are doing" said Kohan. That, essentially, is the paper's current philosophy, as well, on who it intends to serve.

Kohan said that he sees the immigrants as a different market and, instead, sees the purpose of the Polish American Journal as serving the already established Polonia. He said it was a "hard call" on whether or not to include articles in Polish in the paper in the early 1980s when the third wave immigrants began to arrive. The news staff found out, however, that these new first generation Polish-Americans did not want to associate with Polonia but instead wanted to fully become American, said Kohan, adding that these different generations of Polonia do not even participate in each other's events.

Kohan said he could foresee a time in the future when the Polish American Journal will serve the children of the recent immigrants, however. For now, said Kohan, it is a strictly "business point of view: the paper doesn't pursue the immigrants but someday hopes to get their children."

Although this paper may not target the potential immigrant readership, the immigrant who might speak some



English is neither completely forsaken nor forgotten. The Polish American Journal has reported on what is happening with the immigrants, on what they are doing, or for example on the "brain drain" of educated Poles leaving Poland for America, Kohan said. The paper has also included articles on the immigration laws and on the recent immigration quota lottery to inform local readers for their relatives in Poland. Such articles serve the needs of the older Polonia and can serve the needs of the new Polonia if they understand English sufficiently.

Similarly, the small amount of news on Poland that the paper runs might also conceivably serve both Polonias. The Polish American Journal generally has several articles on Poland and, in most issues, also carries a column by Robert Strybel entitled "Warsaw Dispatch" on news from Poland. Strybel's Polish news column, incidentally, is also carried by Dziennik Polski and Am-Pol Eagle.

The contents of two issues were examined. The May 1985 issue devoted only 7 percent of its newshole to news on Poland. In addition to Polish heritage issues and news on the local Polish community, this issue also contained several articles on local politics. At the time, David Franczyk was the editor-in-chief and his inclusion of local political stories is understandable.

He had previously been the editor of The Polish American Voice from 1983-1985, another English-language Polish-American publication in Buffalo that had stressed ethnic politics by organizing a grassroots neighborhood political movement. Franczyk, himself, had also held political aspirations.

In contrast, examination of the January 1989 issue reveals that 26 percent of the newshole was dedicated to Polish news. Gone was the coverage of local politics. In fact, politicians received mention only when one of Polish descent accomplished something. While Franczyk was still editor-in-chief, Kohan had become president of Panographics, Inc., the publisher of Polish American Journal and would shortly, thereafter, become editor-in-chief of the paper. The paper left political coverage to the mainstream English-language papers and concentrated on what it has become very good at: serving the needs of the immigrants' descendants for cultural knowledge about their ethnic background.

Kohan's goals for the paper include being "more radical by covering more issues . . . more stuff on Poland," he says, adding that "people reading it should be forced to think." The inclusion of increased news on Poland, then, does not seem to be a result of the immigrants' arrival, for whose readership the paper does

not actually pursue, but rather a change in editorial policy resulting from a change in personality and viewpoint in the paper's management.

Clearly, the Polish American Journal promotes ethnicity and the maintaining of ethnic heritage. The paper also usually includes a Polish lesson column for the benefit of the thoroughly Americanized descendants it caters to.

The 1986 IMS Directory of Publications mentioned that the Polish American Journal, according to an estimated publisher's report, had a circulation, for all editions, of 17,873. The Gale Directory of Publications indicated a 1988 circulation of 18,300 for the Polish American Journal.

#### Am-Pol Eagle

The Am-Pol Eagle, established in the 1950s in Buffalo, is another English-language paper in the Polish-American press. The paper caters to both the old Polonia and the recent immigrants of the new Polonia, more of whom know English today, according to Matthew Pelczynski, editor and publisher of the Am-Pol Eagle.

Pelczynski, in an interview conducted on March 22, 1989, claimed that his paper tried to cater to the immigrants as much as possible but that there were not too many immigrants in the Buffalo area. Later in the

conversation, Pelczynski refuted himself when, on the topic of what his paper does to serve the needs of the latest Polish immigrants, he said "not too much . . . they [the immigrants] are not supporters [of Am-Pol Eagle]."

The Am-Pol Eagle's audience, then, is primarily the second and third generation Polish-American striving to keep alive some vestige of his or her Polish ethnic background. Articles on Polish history and culture may be found in the paper as well as news on organizations in Buffalo's Polonia.

Pelczynski mentioned that nothing had changed in the Am-Pol Eagle from before to after the Solidarity era because the paper has not gone out of its way to attract readers from among the new refugees. The paper may carry somewhat more news on Poland now, than before 1980, but only because more events are occurring. "People have a greater interest on events in Poland; we print anything we can get on Poland," Pelczynski said. The paper's primary source of news on Poland is Robert Strybel's dispatch from Warsaw which usually amounts to a column or a half page, at most, in an issue.

All of the paper's advertisements are printed in English. The only Polish that may have occasionally appeared in the past were occasion mini-lessons in Polish

intended for children or Polish Christmas carols in the Christmas edition.

Pelczynski said that his paper's current circulation was over 25,000, up from 20,000 prior to 1980, an increase he attributed to the ongoing events in Poland which Buffalo's Polish-Americans are keenly interested in.

### The New Polish-American Press

So far, we have examined publications of the Polish-American press, both Polish-language and in English, and we have seen how they have responded to and have tried to meet the needs of the third wave of immigrants comprising the new Polonia as well as how they have tried to still meet the needs of an older, established Polonia comprised of aging and dying prior immigrants and their fully assimilated children. We have also observed the varying degrees of success at meeting these needs, particularly the needs of the post-Solidarity era immigrants of the so-called third wave of immigration.

Perhaps it is for this reason, that the established Polish-American press was not sufficiently fulfilling the needs of the newest members of Polonia, that recent immigrants began to print their own publications. Part of the motivation for starting new publications may well

have been the differences in outlook and attitude and the separation felt between the new Polonia and their predecessors in the old Polonia, just as there had been between the second wave of Polish immigrants following World War II and their predecessors. Perhaps it is merely human nature to not be satisfied with the status quo. But perhaps for all of these reasons, the new Polonia of the third wave started its own publications rather than depending on the existing press, just as the previous Polish immigrants of the second wave had done in establishing their own publications in the quarter century following the world war's end. Rather than dying out, as many scholars of the Polish-American press had predicted, this new, unexpected wave of Polish immigrants brought new life to the press of Polonia in America. Rather than the conclusion, a new chapter had begun in the Polish-American press.

Several of the editors interviewed for this study mentioned the recent proliferation of new Polonia publications. Wojciech Wierzewski of Zgoda said that there has been "a real explosion of new publications which are very popular among the Polish people in Chicago." Almost 12 new publications came out last year in Chicago, Wierzewski said, covering political, social, and cultural issues for the Polish people much like the

mainstream American papers cover these issues for the American market.

Krzysztof Kasprzyk, editor-in-chief of the Kurier Polonian-American and former visiting professor at the University of Colorado at Boulder School of Journalism, said that at least 20 such publications (dailies, weeklies, and monthlies) have sprung up in the last year or so. He added that while the market of new publications is growing, he expects that this dense network will be reduced to a few survivors in one or two years.

Kasprzyk commented on the reasons why the recent immigrants started their own publications. The Polish media already in existence could not satisfy the new immigrants who have a different attitude to life and whose approach to problems and to politics is different, said Kasprzyk. He said, for example, that the new wave of Polonia has more common sense and realism in its outlook on what this country's relations should be with Poland and the decay of Communism occurring there. Kasprzyk also said there is a big gap between these generations of Polish-Americans because recent immigrants are more highly educated and they have found life here more materialistic and less satisfying intellectually than in Europe. Kasprzyk also pointed out that even the

Polish spoken by recent immigrants is different than that which is spoken by those immigrants and their descendants who came to the United States 40 to 100 years ago, with that of the latter having evolved in a different context and having been exposed to Americanizing influences. As a result, Kasprzyk said, the demands of new wave immigrants are higher, leading to controversies in the Polish-American media. Many recent immigrants see Dziennik Zwiazkowy as being too conservative and Gwiazda Polarna as being very conservative and very clerical for their likes or interests, said Kasprzyk.

Consequently, new publications have begun to be established by these recent immigrants, a few of which we will now examine.

#### Emisariusz (Emissary)

As its name Emisariusz (Emissary) implies, this bimonthly magazine sees its mission as representing the views of various political parties and factions in Poland, within the United States and in Polonia, in particular. In past issues, the magazine has voiced support for such Polish political groups as Fighting Solidarity, the underground Polish Independence Party (PPN), and the Polish Socialist Party (PPS) which is a non-Communist party with minority status in the Polish parliament.



In a March 27, 1989 interview, Dariusz Olszewski, the magazine's editor, said that the role of Emisariusz is to inform readers about the reality behind perestroika, the dangers of Communism, and to provide "true" information about the independence movement in Poland. The magazine, published in Denver, does this through printing current political news on Poland, political commentary, and historical articles.

Olszewski sees his audience as being the worldwide Polonia as he mentioned that his magazine is already sent around the world to countries such as Australia. The news that is printed is for a world audience and, therefore, the magazine does not include articles on American government, history, law or customs that might be of benefit to those specific Polish immigrants who settled in the United States. Emisariusz caters to neither the old Polonia nor the newest Polonia within the United States; rather, it appeals to those around the world who sympathize with its hard-line, strongly anti-Communist, no-compromise approach to relations with the Polish government.

However, Olszewski sees the new Polonia in this country as the natural audience in which to expand his magazine's circulation. He believes that the magazine must be directed at the new Polonia to draw them away

from the old Polonia and its press, whom Olszewski said is compromised, if not completely controlled, by contacts with the Polish regime and by advertisements of Polish state-run agencies carried in great numbers in most of the Polish-American newspapers.

Since the magazine is primarily targeted at Polish-speaking immigrants worldwide, Emisariusz does not have any articles in English, nor does it carry any advertisements for English courses, books, etc.

In fact, the magazine hardly carries any advertisements, and that is part of its problem. In its November/December 1988 issue, Emisariusz carried nine advertisements: for several Polish restaurants in Colorado, a Polish radio station in Michigan, a Polish-American book store in New York, for the Pilsudski Institute of America, and for a magazine entitled Uncaptive Minds. In the next issue, January/February 1989, only seven of these nine ads are carried, with no new ones added. At the time of the interview, Olszewski did not expect to put out the next issue because of mounting financial losses. He said he was, however, more optimistic about the future, hoping to get advertisements from bigger corporations such as the Coors Brewing Company.

Emisariusz, despite its high-minded goals and professional appearance, may very well be one of those publications which does not survive the reduction in the current "dense network" of new Polish periodicals, which Kasprzyk predicted would happen in the coming years. If Emisariusz cannot financially resurrect itself, it will probably be because it restricted itself to too narrow of an audience holding similar political beliefs. Even in Poland, Fighting Solidarity, for example, never had a following of more than 10,000. As has been suggested by several of those interviewed, many of the recent immigrants came to this country because they were tired of politics and are, therefore, probably not inclined to read such a magazine. Some of the conservative ideas published in Emisariusz might have found a market among other Americans if the magazine had been printed in English or if, at least, it had had a bilingual format. Olszewski said he had future plans to translate articles into English at the back of the magazine but, alas, it may already be too late, financially, for Emisariusz. With such a narrow audience for political ideas not very popular, for events in another country which can change at any time, Emisariusz will also probably not obtain the advertisements it so desperately needs to survive financially because it does not have a sufficient

audience to read those advertisements. Just as Echo z Polski (Echo from Poland) concentrated exclusively on events in Poland during the insurrection in 1863, to the detriment of news for those few Polish colonies that existed in America at the time, and then folded when the uprising failed in 1865, so too shall follow Emisariusz as political events in Poland change and for ignoring the new life and new needs of the new Polonia in this country.

#### Kurier Polonian-American

The Kurier Polonian-American, is a biweekly, Polish-language magazine, resembling Newsweek in appearance, which began publication in Chicago in March 1987.

The periodical is geared mostly towards readers in the new Polonia, although the magazine is picking up readers from the old Polonia, said the Kurier's editor-in-chief, Krzysztof Kasprzyk in an interview on March 23, 1989.

The Kurier's circulation, currently at 5,000, is constantly growing and the magazine is being distributed throughout Chicago, the East Coast of the United States, and Ontario, Canada, according to Kasprzyk.

Kasprzyk, who had been president of the Polish Journalists' Association in Cracow during the 1980-1981

Solidarity era, said that this magazine is meant to show his more highly educated Polish readers the dramatic changes occurring in Poland and Polonia and in American news events in Chicago. About one-quarter to one-third of the magazine consists of political news and news analysis, with a focus on events in Poland and East Europe, Kasprzyk said.

As editor-in-chief, Kasprzyk's goal is "to saturate [the magazine] with intellectual stuff" such as on what the position of the Polish community in the United States might be by the end of the 20th century, the conflict between the generations of Polonia, articles in support of the Polish homeland, and on Poles in this country and those back in Poland. Kasprzyk also runs and intends to continue carrying "light stuff, photos, ladies' news, and also foreign reporting," he said. To help out the recent immigrants, in past issues the magazine has run articles on the presidential campaign and American politics, in general, and it recently carried an interview with the Chicago director of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Kasprzyk said.

Kasprzyk said the magazine has also printed more sophisticated articles on the American political system for his more educated readers. He views his small, limited circulation magazine as being much like The

Nation or Commentary and other political commentary magazines in the United States, in contrast to larger circulating, more diverse publications. He sees Kurier as being an opinion-making periodical, professional in news coverage and layout, with a readership drawn from the intelligentsia. He may be in a good position to make that happen; his former position in the Polish Journalists' Association has given him plenty of news sources back in Poland, Kasprzyk said. The Kurier, Kasprzyk emphasized, "assumes a level of education and emancipation." He added that "there are [other] magazines for the less educated on the market," but the Kurier does not carry gossip or yellow journalism.

Content analysis of the March 28, 1989 issue revealed that 34 percent of the magazine's newshole was devoted to political or cultural news on Poland or political commentary directly related to Poland. Another 20 percent of the periodical dealt with issues pertaining to Polish immigrants in this country or with Polish refugees in another country. Together, these two issues, whose articles were front-loaded in the magazine, comprised over half of the magazine. The remaining material included several articles on Chicago politics (5 percent), an article on an American historical figure, a photo essay of a ghost town in Colorado, a women's

section (entitled "Housewife's Diary"), several pages of news on various personalities, and a page each on medicine, fashion, horoscopes, and a gossip page (on the British royal family)--contrary to what Kasprzyk had mentioned.

Seventeen small to full-page advertisements were carried in the issue, all of them in Polish. Many of the advertisements were for agencies sending packages and other products to Poland or for agencies arranging for travel to Poland--all of potential use for immigrants with family still in Poland. The remaining ads were for Polish radio and television stations in Chicago or for Polish-American businesses or professionals. One advertisement was for a school preparing Polish immigrants for the citizenship test.

Articles in the magazine are always in Polish but advertisements are sometimes run in English, Kasprzyk said. He added that the Kurier many times advertises English classes; however, none were observed in the issue provided by Kasprzyk.

Kurier Polonian-American appears to do a superb job of meeting the needs of the new Polonia readers, at least, both in informing its readers of events in the homeland as well as in helping Americanize them through coverage of local American politics and the lighter side

of American life. For the Polish-American of the old Polonia who can read Polish, the Kurier can be an excellent source of news and history on Poland for maintaining his ethnicity and his mother-tongue.

#### Rewia (Review)

Rewia, started in Chicago in 1984, is another general purpose magazine intended for new Polonia. The weekly magazine has a circulation of 40,000 and is distributed nationwide, primarily to New York, Connecticut, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, as well as Wisconsin, Arizona, California, and throughout the Chicago area, according to Rewia's editor, Andrzej T. Jarski.

Published in Polish, Rewia carries a diversity of topics including politics, immigration matters, problems in Polonia, sports, humor, music, literature, fashion, medicine, history, tourism, and interviews of famous people. Jarski claimed that about 25 percent of the magazine is devoted to politics in Poland and overall. However, analysis of a 1987 issue showed that only 4 percent of its content covered news in Poland, another 2 percent covered local news in Chicago (not all of it political), and 8 percent of the newshole was devoted to immigrant issues.



Of the 21 advertisements in the issue examined, only one was in English. Jarski said that Rewia accepts advertisements in either English or Polish but that the most recent issues have been running 100 percent of the ads in Polish. Most of the advertisements observed, again, were for Polish travel agencies, agencies for sending packages to Poland, Polish radio stations, and Polish-American doctors--the usual ads that can be found in most of the Polish-American press and which can be beneficial to Polish immigrants or to those living in a Polish community.

According to Jarski, Rewia also prints articles on such topics as visas, social security, and taxes in an effort to assist those in the new Polonia.

Although Rewia is published entirely in Polish, it appears to lean heavily toward helping the Polish immigrant become Americanized rather than emphasizing the maintenance of Polish nationalism and ethnicity. Jarski admits that his magazine stresses assimilation into the American lifestyle. Jarski added that Rewia's circulation had increased 200 percent from that in 1987. Perhaps Rewia's purported success is proof of Kasprzyk's observation that "people are tired of politics . . . they need mostly entertainment now."

## CHAPTER 5

### CONCLUSIONS

Historically, the Polish-American press has striven to meet the various needs of Polonia through the years. Its various publications have served numerous factions within Polonia--religious, nationalist, and generational--in their need for receiving and disseminating ideas and information. Some publications have been more successful than others, and they have survived. Others, for various reasons, were not successful in meeting the needs of Polonia's readers, and they have not survived to the present.

This study has examined eight publications which have survived to the present time and has analyzed how they reacted to and met the needs of the unsuspected third wave of Polish immigrants that arrived primarily after Solidarity's demise in 1981. It has also examined how the Polish-American press, meanwhile, continued to meet the needs of its old Polonia readers. Finally, this study has also looked at three new publications established by the new Polonia and has examined, in turn, how they have tried to meet the needs of the post-Solidarity Polish immigrants and perhaps some of the needs of old Polonia readers, as well.

The findings of this study point to the following conclusions:

RQ1. Today's Polish-American press continues to serve the purpose of providing information to various segments of a Polonia that remains divided by generational differences, political viewpoints and social outlook. Polonia's press functions to serve the assimilated second and third generation Polish-American by stimulating ethnic pride and maintenance (Polish-American Journal and Am-Pol Eagle). It serves fraternal organizations by providing information on meetings and members (Zgoda and Narod Polski). The larger, big-name, general circulation newspapers cover a diversity of topics and try to be everything to everyone in Polonia (Nowy Dziennik, Dziennik Zwiazkowy, Dziennik Polski, and Gwiazda Polarna). New Polonia's recent magazines serve a new wave of immigrants with a different outlook and attitude than that of the preceding wave, just as they, in turn, had differed from their predecessors and felt the need to establish their own publications after their post-World War II arrival. Some of these recent new Polonia publications espouse strong political beliefs, just as some of the second wave publications did (and still do, to a lesser extent).

RQ2. The Polish-American press of today appeals to various audiences. The fraternal publications appeal only to their parent organization's aging membership and make only minimal attempts to reach out to the newest immigrants. The English-language newspapers see their readership as the already assimilated second and third generation Polish-Americans. They do not envision receiving the support of the new immigrants, many of whom do know some English, but, at best, hope someday to get the current immigrants' children as readers. The larger, aforementioned general circulation papers claim they try to appeal to both the old and the new Polonias in their regional and even nationwide distribution. Several of these larger papers see themselves as bridging the gap between these two different audiences represented by the old and the new Polonia. The newer publications of the third wave immigrants, started out of the dissatisfaction with the existing Polish-language press they found, have spread among the members of new Polonia and now find themselves attempting to interest readers of the old Polonia.

RQ3. Many of these recent third wave publications were formed because the established Polish-American press was perhaps slow in responding to the new immigrants' needs. Circulation of Polish-language newspapers may

have gone up because, initially, there were no other Polish-language publications to read. Most newspapers examined responded initially only by increasing their political coverage of events in Poland as the exuberant era of Solidarity was followed by the despair of martial law. This was the only or the major change mentioned by editors of those publications who said that a change had occurred at all. Some newspapers, such as the fraternal organs, experienced no changes at all, according to their editors.

RQ4. Eventually the press of Polonia began to respond and to feel that it had some social responsibility in helping the newest Polish immigrants. The four major papers of Chicago, Detroit, and Stevens Point began to carry information on immigration matters, acquiring citizenship, social security, and income taxes in an effort to assist in the assimilation and Americanization of the immigrants. One English-language paper, the Polish American Journal, made a similar effort to reach out to the new immigrants, or to their American relatives, with information on immigration laws and the residency quota lottery. Shortly after being established, the new Polonia periodicals, such as Kurier Polonian-American, responded best of all through the quantity and quality of articles on issues pertaining to

immigrants as well as by also including the previously mentioned practical information. And then some publications, such as Emisariusz, looked not at assisting in the resettlement of Polish refugees in America but in printing what is unprintable in Poland in the hope of changing the current political reality in the homeland. Such a publication may respond to the political aspirations of more than a few of the recent immigrants, but it does nothing to assist the majority of them who must face reality and survive in this land.

RQ5. Dziennik Zwiazkowy and Kurier Polonian-American appear to be the best of those publications examined in running articles on United States history and the American political system. The former paper, according to its editor, had once printed a translation of the U.S. Constitution. Such articles began to appear apparently only some time after the third wave immigrants arrived, and even later in the case of the Kurier, a publication started by immigrants of the third wave. Other Polish-language publications, if they carried anything at all, carried regular news stories on American politics and elections which perhaps indirectly educated immigrants in the American system of government.

RQ6. Only two Polish-language papers ran an English lesson column, neither of which continued the

column--Dziennik Zwiaskowy and Gwiazda Polarna. None of the new Polonia publications have printed English lessons to assist in assimilation. However, virtually all of the Polish-language periodicals have run ads for English-language classes, books, and cassette tapes. Conversely, in the English-language newspapers, a Polish lesson was found in the Polish American Journal, and the Am-Pol Eagle, in the past, has carried occasional mini-lessons in Polish as well as Polish Christmas carols.

RQ7. Some publications in the Polish-American press rely strictly on one language. The two English-language papers studied use only English. Those new Polonia magazines examined were printed exclusively in Polish. Dziennik Polski publishes two separate editions: a Polish edition and an English one.

The remaining publications studied, varied in their bilingual proportions. Nowy Dziennik, in 1979, had 1 percent to 8 percent of its articles in English but between 1983 and 1985, it was entirely in Polish, except for an occasional editorial. The only exception to this format was a monthly English column in a magazine insert. In Dziennik Zwiaskowy, a short article in English was once observed as was sports in English on two days. The paper's editor mentioned that English was not emphasized because of the many other, better newspapers that are

printed in English. For the assimilated second and third generation Polish-Americans, Gwiazda Polarna runs a page in English. The fraternal newspapers are bilingual because they serve the original immigrants and their English-speaking offspring. Only in Nowy Dziennik did it appear that there might be a connection between the arrival of the new immigrants and a Polish-language paper using less English.

RQ8. Almost all of those Polish-American publications in existence before 1980-1981, except for the two fraternal organs which do not include political news, carried more news on Poland beginning with the Solidarity era in 1980 than they did before this time. Nowy Dziennik, in 1979, had 13 percent to 22 percent of its content on news of Poland. In 1983, 21 percent to 44 percent of this same paper was devoted to news on Poland but it decreased slightly to 30 percent to 35 percent in 1985, which was still greater than its measured pre-Solidarity era percentage. Dziennik Zwiazkowy's Polish news remained about the same, with its 1983 high percentage of 20 percent being only slightly more than the high of 17 percent observed in one paper in 1977. Levels as low as 1 percent in 1979 and again in 1985 were also observed. While the 1989 English editions of Dziennik Polski were observed as not carrying any news on



Poland, the Polish editions carried between 9 percent and 18 percent of news on Poland. Similarly, Gwiazda Polarna carried 11 percent to 18 percent in those 1983 issues analyzed. The Kurier Polonian-American of new Polonia, which views itself as an opinion-making magazine, carried 34 percent of its total on news of Poland in a recent issue while another new Polonia magazine, Rewia, carried only 4 percent in a 1987 issue. The English-language Polish American Journal increased from 7 percent of news on Poland to 26 percent in 1989.

However, it is not definite that these increases in the amount of Polish news content can be attributed to a need to serve the new immigrants on the latest developments in the Polish homeland. There, obviously, has also been a keen interest in Polish news among those of old Polonia, even before the third wave began to arrive and to establish their own publications. In the case of the Polish American Journal, greater Polish news content may be due more to a change in editorial policy than to actually responding to their readers' perceived need for more Polish news.

While it also may be obvious that most of these publications surpassed the 14 percent level of news on Poland that Obidinski observed in 1977, it cannot be said for certain that these last nine years in the Polish

press have been other than an anomaly with the string of events that have occurred in Poland during this time. Perhaps it has only been the momentous and sometimes tragic events in Poland that have generated so much news of that country in the Polish-American press in recent years. As conditions settle down or stabilize in the future, the Polish-American press may carry less than Obidinski's 14 percent. Already, in 1989, editors spoke of having to cut back their percentage of news on Poland as their readers tired with and become emotionally numbed from reading so much news on Poland.

RQ9. Several of the major circulation newspapers, including Nowy Dziennik, Dziennik Zwiazkowy, and Gwiazda Polarna, strive to keep a balance between emphasizing ethnicity/nationalism versus assimilation/Americanization. They strive to maintain the Polish cultural heritage and Polish language in the American melting pot while also trying to acquaint the new immigrants with the American way of doing things. The Kurier, of the new Polonia press, also seeks to both Americanize and maintain Polish nationalism amongst its readers. Another new Polonia magazine, Rewia, wholeheartedly stresses assimilation into America while Emisariusz strictly emphasizes Polish nationalism. Other publications, such as Detroit's Dziennik Polski, do

little to stress ethnicity beyond limited heritage articles and organizational news in the community and also do little to help the new immigrants acclimate in this new land.

RQ10. Circulation figures for the old Polonia newspapers that were examined all rose in the early 1980s following the era of Solidarity. However, it is not all that certain whether this rise can be attributed strictly to the arrival of the third wave Polish immigrants, or also to an increased interest in those of the old Polonia who wanted to read about events in Poland, particularly after the 1981 imposition of martial law in that country. At least part of the rise in circulation can be attributed to the immigrants; several of the editors where many of the immigrants settled (Chicago and Detroit) mentioned the growing need for the Polish-language press. What needs and desires that apparently could not be fulfilled by the established Polish-American press were then met by the emerging new publications of the third wave Polish-American press.

Interestingly, for this new Polonia press, their success in terms of circulation appears to be inversely proportional to the amount of news on Poland that they carry. Rewia, a very diverse magazine stressing Americanization and carrying only 4 percent of Polish

news in the issue examined, reported a circulation of 40,000. In contrast, Emisariusz, which stresses political events in Poland, exclusively, has not been able to attract either the readers or the advertising to continue publishing on a regular basis. The Kurier Polonian-American, which takes the middle ground, has a circulation of 5,000 which is at least growing. This trend seems to contradict Olszyk's contention that Polish-American papers would survive by finding their niche in specializing in news on Poland rather than competing with the mainstream American papers. Perhaps it may have been true with regard to those publications that maintain Polish ethnicity for old Polonia and its thoroughly Americanized descendants. However, for the recent immigrants and their periodicals, a more diverse, generalized content has meant success and too much specialized news on Poland has meant decline and perhaps extinction, which agrees with Fishman's 1966 study.

RQ11. A decline in advertisements in English was observed in Nowy Dziennik about the time that the new immigrants began to arrive, perhaps in an effort to be more accommodating to the Polish-speaking immigrants. The other major Polish-language newspapers carried one-third to one-half of their ads in English in the issues examined. However, wide fluctuations between ads printed

in Polish and English in Dziennik Zwiazkowy during the period studied bring doubt to any hypothesis on whether or not Polish newspapers made a conscious effort to print more ads in Polish at the time the immigrants began to arrive. Many of the advertisements still carried in the Polish-American press continue to be those of limited ethnic interest: agencies sending packages or arranging for travel to Poland, Polish radio stations and book stores, and Polish-American professionals (i.e. doctors, dentists, lawyers, accountants) and businesses operated by Polish-Americans. There is no doubt that these advertisements serve the needs of both those in the new Polonia as well as those of the old Polonia. However, it would seem that a sign of success and acceptance of an ethnic publication by a locale would be the time when those outside the ethnic enclave recognized the size of its readership and its potential in advertising. By these standards, very few if any Polish-American publications have "made it." However, two such newspapers have perhaps come close to gaining this additional clout. These papers are Nowy Dziennik of New York and Dziennik Zwiazkowy of Chicago, both of which carry about half of their advertisements on non-Polish businesses and products in their respective metropolitan areas.

In conclusion, the Polish-American press experienced mixed success in meeting the needs of Polonia, particularly of the new Polonia that mostly arrived in this country after 1981. Many of the established publications, while still serving their old Polonia readers, were faced with an entirely different set of needs required by the new immigrant reader. Some of the established papers in Polonia were slow to respond to these needs but eventually came to serve both Polonias and to strive to bridge the gap between them. Other established publications felt it beyond their purpose (the fraternal organs) or did not feel the need to help the latest Polish immigrants (especially the English-language papers catering to assimilated Polish-Americans). As a consequence, it was not long before this new Polonia began its own publications to meet what it felt were its needs, rather than being misunderstood by and dissatisfied with the existing Polish-American press.

This new Polonia press has added a new chapter to the life of the Polish-American press and it will probably survive for as many years as these new immigrants are alive. Beyond that, perhaps the children and grandchildren of the third wave immigrants may prolong the reason for existence of those publications

that now maintain Polish ethnicity against the seemingly inevitable tide sweeping every American resident toward the melting pot.

## ENDNOTES

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<sup>35</sup>Kathryn Trimble Theus, "From Orthodoxy to Reform: Assimilation and the Jewish-English Press of Mid-Nineteenth Century America" (M.A. thesis, University of Maryland, 1982), pp. 61-62.

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<sup>131</sup>Kowalik, p. 7.

<sup>132</sup>Park, p. 313.

<sup>133</sup>Ibid., pp. 303-304.

<sup>134</sup>Pacyniak, p. 518.

<sup>135</sup>American Newspaper Annual and Directory, (N. W. Ayer & Son, 1920).

<sup>136</sup>Pacyniak, p. 523.

<sup>137</sup>Lopata, Polish Americans: Status Competition, p. 65, quoting Karol Wachtl, Polonia w Ameryce (Philadelphia: 1944), p. 219.

- <sup>138</sup>Pacyniak, p. 524.
- <sup>139</sup>Kuzniewski, p. 281.
- <sup>140</sup>Renkiewicz, p. 23.
- <sup>141</sup>Wytrwal, p. 438.
- <sup>142</sup>Hunter, p. 115.
- <sup>143</sup>Lopata, Polish Americans: Status Competition, p. 65.
- <sup>144</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>145</sup>Kuzniewski, p. 281.
- <sup>146</sup>Kowalik, p. 12.
- <sup>147</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>148</sup>Pacyniak, p. 526.
- <sup>149</sup>Joseph S. Roucek, Poles in the United States of America (Gdynia, Poland: Baltic Institute, 1937), pp. 29-31.
- <sup>150</sup>Pacyniak, p. 527.
- <sup>151</sup>Roger P. Wimmer and Joseph R. Dominick, Mass Media Research (Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth Publishing Co., 1987), pp. 51, 501.

#### Telephone Interviews

Boleslaw Wier<sup>z</sup>bi<sup>y</sup>anski, editor and publisher, Nowy Dziennik (Polish Daily News), March 27, 1989.

Anna M. Rychlinski, editor-in-chief, Dziennik Zwiazkowy (Polish Daily Zgoda), March 23, 1989.

Ewa Ziomecka, staff reporter (Polish edition), Dziennik Polski (Polish Daily News), March 28, 1989.

Donald Horkey, general manager and editor (English edition), Dziennik Polski (Polish Daily News), March 28, 1989.

Edward Dusza, managing editor, Gwiazda Polarna  
(Polar Star), March 23, 1989.

Wojciech Wierzewski, editor, Zgoda (Harmony), March  
23, 1989.

Jeanne Kuprianczyk, assistant editor, Narod Polski  
(Polish Nation), March 23, 1989.

Mark Kohan, editor-in-chief, Polish American  
Journal, March 22, 1989.

Matthew Pelczynski, editor and publisher, Am-Pol  
Eagle, March 22, 1989.

Dariusz Olszewski, editor, Emisariusz (Emissary),  
March 27, 1989.

Krzysztof Kasprzyk, editor-in-chief, Kurier  
Polonian-American, March 23, 1989.

Andrzej T. Jarski, editor, Rewia (Review), March  
31, 1989.